

CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN[®]

A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage

I TELL YOU. RUSYNS CANNOT DISAPPEAR!



MIRO HOMA

THE RUSYNS ALONG THE DANUBE—IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Sarajevo, Bosnia, Serbia, ethnic cleansing, detention camps—these are exotic names and frightening concepts that until recently were virtually unknown to the American public. Now they have become household words as the media reports on a daily basis about the bombing of Sarajevo, the killings and rapes throughout Bosnia, and the on-going suffering of all the peoples in the ethnically-complex country once known as Yugoslavia.

Rusyns, too, live within the boundaries of the former Yugoslavia, and the military conflict has struck them directly and indirectly. Ironically, of all the Rusyns in Europe, it was those living in Yugoslavia who in the second half of the twentieth century enjoyed the best conditions for national and cultural development. Since the Revolution of 1989, however, the situation has been reversed: Rusyns in the Carpathian homeland (Ukraine, Slovakia, Poland) are enjoying more freedom to develop than ever before, while those in former Yugoslavia are seeing all their achievements undermined by financial cutbacks or physical annihilation. But how did such a situation come about?

When Yugoslavia was reconstituted after World War II, its new Communist government led by war hero, Marshal Josef Tito, tried to resolve inter-ethnic conflict by dividing the country into six national republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia) and by providing liberal support and legal protection for all national minorities wherever they lived. Aside from the six national republics, two autonomous regions within Serbia—the Vojvodina in the north and Kosovo-Metohija in the south—were in 1974 given considerable political autonomy and a status equal to the republics in the federal government. Kosovo was inhabited primarily by Albanians; the Vojvodina included an incredible mixture of peoples from all over East Central Europe. Five of the Vojvodina's peoples were given the status of official nationalities—Serbs, Magyars, Romanians, Slovaks, and Rusyns—the rest were classified as national minorities.

The Rusyn presence in the Vojvodina dates back to the 1740s, when immigrants from the Carpathian homeland (mostly from southern Zemplyn and Ung counties in eastern Slovakia) began to arrive on the fertile plains along the Danube River. They settled both east and south of the Danube in the Bačka and Srem counties of what was then the southern frontier region of the Hungarian Kingdom. Their main settlement was in Ruski Krstur, which to this day is inhabited almost exclusively by Rusyns. Both the Bačka and Srem became part of the Vojvodina when, in 1918, the whole area was incorporated into the new state of Yugoslavia.

After World War II., when Yugoslavia was transformed into a federal republic, most of the Vojvodina was made part of Serbia, but the western Srem which included some Rusyn settlements became part of Croatia. By the 1970s, there were about 5,000 Rusyns in Croatia, specifically in the city of Vukovar and surrounding villages to the immediate southeast.

Thus, the Rusyns of former Yugoslavia lived in two of its constituent republics: about 25,000 lived in Serbia's autonomous province of the Vojvodina; the remainder lived in far eastern Croatia. The legal status of the two groups differed, however. In the Vojvodina, Rusyns were an official nationality; in Croatia, they were only a national minority.

But how did today's crisis come about and how has it effected the Rusyns? The Yugoslav governmental system left by Tito, with its six republics and two autonomous regions, was intended to provide a system of checks and balances so that no one republic would be able to play a dominant role in the country as a whole. This delicate balance was upset in 1990, when Serbia unilaterally abolished the autonomous status of Kosovo and then of the Vojvodina. This move alarmed the other republics, most especially Croatia and Slovenia, who feared Serbia would become too strong within the Yugoslav federation. The result was a political conflict over the future of Yugoslavia which ended with declarations of independence by Slovenia (June 1991), Croatia (June 1991), Bosnia-Herzegovina (February 1992), and Macedonia. The Serbs continued to hold on to the idea and name, Yugoslavia, although at present it comprises only Serbia (with the Vojvodina and Kosovo) and Montenegro.

For the first time in their 250-year-old history, the Rusyns along the Danube found themselves divided by an international border between two states—Yugoslavia (that is, Serbia) and Croatia. Even worse, when war broke out between Yugoslavia (Serbia) and Croatia in the summer of 1991, Rusyns from Serbia were mobilized and sent to fight their brethren in Croatia. Moreover, one of the main theaters of the conflict was eastern Slavonia and the western Srem, precisely where Croatia's Rusyns live. The Rusyn-language publishing house in Vukovar (which had published the magazine *Nova dumka*) was destroyed along with most of that city, and the surrounding villages were attacked by the opposing forces of Yugoslavia (Serbia) and Croatia. To this day, all of Croatia east of Osijek is controlled by Serbian forces, and an uneasy truce is maintained by United Nations troops. At the height of the conflict, however, Croatia's Rusyn minority was caught between the proverbial hammer and anvil, often assumed by one side to be cooperating with the other.

Whereas the larger group of Rusyns in Serbia's Vojvodina were not touched directly by military attack, they are nonetheless in a precarious position. With the abolition of the autonomous province of the Vojvodina, it is not clear what legal status is left for Rusyns. Also, in an atmosphere of xenophobic nationalism, it is not likely that the new Yugoslavia (Serbia-Montenegro) will be as favorably inclined toward its various nationalities and national minorities as was the old. These concerns are addressed at greater length by a Rusyn from the Vojvodina in an article, "The Destiny of Rusyns Along the Danube," written especially for this issue of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*.

Paul Robert Magocsi
Toronto, Canada

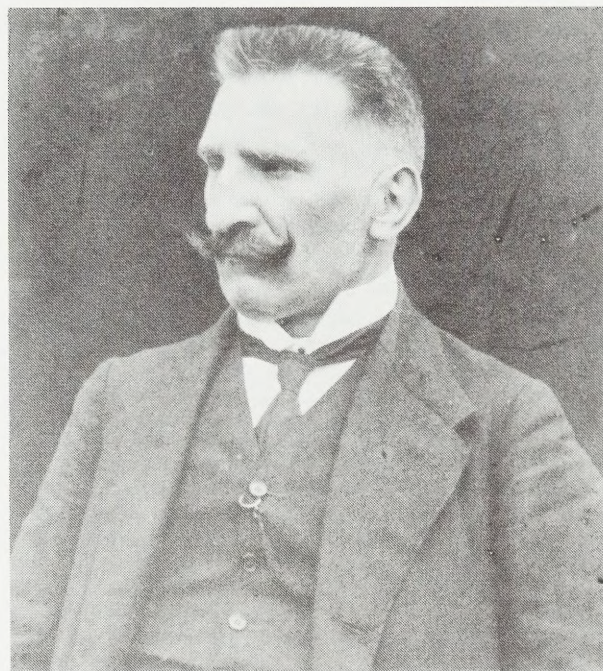
ANTAL HODINKA (1864-1946)

In the past and even present, Carpathian Rus' was unable to provide suitable employment for its educated and intellectual elite. The result was that many talented Carpatho-Rusyns were forced to pursue their careers elsewhere. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Russian Empire was a favorite destination for educated Carpatho-Rusyns. By the end of the century, many remained within the boundaries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, most especially in its growing capitals of Vienna and Budapest. Among those Carpatho-Rusyns who reached the top of their profession in Austria-Hungary and later Hungary—while at the same time working on behalf of their native culture—was Antal Hodinka.

Antal Hodinka was born in 1864 in the Prešov Region Carpatho-Rusyn village of Ladomirov, near the town of Snina in present-day northeastern Slovakia. His father was a Greek Catholic priest who was transferred farther east to the Rusyn village of Sokyrynycja in Máramaros county (presently Transcarpathia in Ukraine), where the young Antal—or Antonij as he was known in Rusyn—grew up and attended elementary school. Following in the footsteps of his father and both grandparents, Hodinka completed *gymnasium* (high school) in Užhorod and then entered the Greek Catholic Seminary in that same city. Singled out for his excellence as a student, in 1882 he was sent to the Central Theological Seminary in Budapest. It was in Hungary's capital that he discovered his true vocation, history, in particular the history of the Slavic world and his own Rusyn people.

In 1887, Hodinka completed his seminary studies and that same year published his first historical study, a work dealing with religious heresies in medieval Bosnia. After a year at home in Sokyrynycja, Hodinka accepted a year-long fellowship from the Institute for Austrian History in Vienna. He consulted in the Austrian capital with the Habsburg empire's leading Slavists, after which, in 1891, he was awarded a doctorate for a thesis on historical sources in early medieval Serbia. For the next five years he worked as an archivist in Vienna, but then moved to nearby Bratislava where he became a professor of Hungarian history and culture at the Law Academy (1906) and later at Elizabeth University (1914). With the close of World War I, the demise of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the creation of the new Czechoslovak republic, Elizabeth University was transferred to Pécs in southwest Hungary. From 1923 until his retirement in 1935, Hodinka held at Pécs the prestigious professorship of universal history. In recognition of his scholarly achievements, he was elected to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1910), and several decades later, when Subcarpathian Rus' was reannexed to Hungary in 1939, he was appointed chairman of the newly-founded Subcarpathian Scholarly Society (Podkarpatskoe Obsčestvo Nauk) in Užhorod.

Throughout his distinguished career as a scholar, Hodinka never forgot his Carpatho-Rusyn origins. His first major work was an extended essay on Rusyn ethnography for the volume on Hungary in the German-language illustrated encyclopedia of Austria-



Hungary (*Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, 1900). He was particularly interested, however, in the church of his forefathers. He wrote in Hungarian a monumental history (1909) and published a collection of documents, mostly in Latin (1911), dealing with the Mukačevo Greek Catholic Eparchy. He even published a brief economic history of his people (1922) in the Rusyn dialect of Sokyrynycja, which explains the source of the pseudonym he sometimes used—an orphan from Sokyrynycja (Eden Sokyrynyc'kij Sýrochman/Syrotjuk).

In actual fact, many of Hodinka's scholarly works on Rusyns were never published during his lifetime nor, because of the post-World War II Hungarian Communist taboo on publications about Rusyns, did they appear during the next four decades after his death. Most recently, however, thanks to Hungary's leading specialist on Rusyns, Dr. István Udvari, all of Hodinka's previously unknown manuscripts have been identified and some have already been published. These include a *Dictionary of All Verbs in the Subcarpathian Rusyn Language* (*Hlaholnycja: sbyrka vsich hlaholov pudkarpats'ko-rusyns'koho jazýka*, 1991) and *One Hundred of Our Folk Songs* (*Sto našych spìvanok*, 1991). Still in manuscript are several of Hodinka's studies of Rusyn ethnography and folklore, works on the Greek Catholic eparchies of Prešov and Mukačevo, and a monumental 1000-page Rusyn-Hungarian and Hungarian-Rusyn dictionary.

Because he continued throughout his life to write about Rusyns, in a real sense Antal Hodinka (Antonij Hodynka) never left his homeland. And thanks to political changes in East Central Europe after 1989, as well as the initiative of younger Rusyn scholars in Hungary, the breadth of Hodinka's scholarship is continually being rediscovered. Hopefully, some of his more important writings can someday be made available in English translation.

Philip Michaels

THE DESTINY OF RUSYNS ALONG THE DANUBE

War in the former Yugoslavia has frightened and made life difficult for the Vojvodinian Rusyns. On the Croatian side of the Danube many Rusyn families have been forcibly driven from their homes. On the Serbian side of the Danube these are also hard times for Rusyn culture. Times were even worse during World War II. Rusyns deserve better.

While new international boundaries in former Yugoslavia may divide Vojvodina's Rusyns, the Danube does not. The Danube has become the symbol of the resilience and destiny of the Rusyns. They have always crossed the river. Rusyn settlements sprang up not far from the Danube: Ruski Krstur (in Rusyn: Ruskyj Kerestur), Kucura, Djurdjevo, Šid, Bačinci, Petrovci, Mikloševci, Piškurevci, and others. Closer to the Danube or along its shores are cities to which Rusyns have moved: Novi Sad, Vukovar, Sombor, and Osijek.

Mighty 250-Year-Old Rusyn Trees

In the middle of the eighteenth century, one group of Rusyns migrated to the Bačka, a geographic region at the southern end of the Pannonian Plain located between the Danube and Tysa Rivers. The first Rusyn settlements were built in this region among Serb, Magyar, and German villages. At the very beginning of the nineteenth century, new Rusyn settlements were founded on the southern side of the Danube, in an area known as the Srem. Some Rusyns from the Bačka migrated to Srem, while others came directly from the Carpathian Mountains.

During the last 250 years, the Vojvodinian Rusyns have prospered. They now number in excess of thirty thousand. Ever since 1751, they have educated their children in the Rusyn language. Today there is a Chair of Rusyn Studies at the University of Novi Sad. Rusyns have their own literature. The first book published in the Rusyn language appeared in 1904. Newspapers have been published in the Rusyn language since 1924. The Rusyn language has been used in the region of Vojvodina both in politics and administration since 1974. The Greek Catholic eparchy of Križevci was established in 1777, and Rusyns form the largest community in the eparchy. The oldest Rusyn cultural institutions are the libraries (1876), and there is a rich musical and theatrical heritage dating back to the end of the nineteenth century.

There are many highly educated persons among the Rusyn population, including professors in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Zagreb, and other universities all over the world. Rusyns are skilled in medicine, engineering, and agriculture, and they have many lawyers and journalists. There have been some Rusyns in the Yugoslav government and diplomatic service, and six bishops of Rusyn background: Dionizij Njaradi, Gavrilj Bukatko, Dr. Augustin Hornyak, Dr. Joachim Segedi, Dr. Joachim Herbut, and Slavomir Mikloš. Dr. Vladimir Kanjuh, who is a member of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, is of Rusyn background as is the well-known Serbian painter Steven Bodnarov.



Some actors in the Serbian National Theatres in Novi Sad, in the National Theatre in Vršac, and in the Children's Theatre in Sarajevo were of Rusyn background. Yugoslav movie star Juliana Medješi's father is of Rusyn background from Srem. The composer Ivan Kovač, who was a professor at the Music Academy in Novi Sad and Secretary of the Yugoslavian Society of Composers, was a Rusyn. Approximately twenty Rusyn writers were elected as members of the Writers Society of Yugoslavia. At one time the director of radio broadcasters in Novi Sad was a Rusyn. A Rusyn has been director of the Ruske Slovo publishing house since its establishment in 1945.

Winds of War

The internal strife and open warfare since 1991 in former Yugoslavia has brought misfortune to the Rusyn people. Even prior to the war, Rusyns were victims in the Serbian-Croatian conflict. It is still not known how many Rusyns have died, how many were expelled from their homes, how many have fled, or the extent of material losses. Also unclear is what will be the fate of Rusyn community along the Danube. The conflict between Serbs and Croats became visible at the beginning of 1991 during republic and local level elections in Croatia. Nonetheless, people did not believe that war was possible.

The Croats were organized into the Croatian Democratic Union (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica) and the Serbs into the Serbian Democratic party (Srpska Demokratska Stranka). These organizations represented ethnonational rather than political divisions. Rusyns in the Osijek district of Croatia, where Vukovar and two Rusyn villages are located, took a neutral stand in the struggle, but they were not able to maintain that position for long. Croats won the election and founded the Croatian National Guard, which was stationed around villages and fields. Rusyns were drafted into the new National Guard.

Open war between Croats and Serbs began in the summer of 1991. By then, Rusyns in the Vojvodina were drafted into the Yugoslav army (under Serbian control). Thus, Rusyns found themselves within two opposing armies that were soon to be at war with each other. It should be noted, however, that a few Rusyns

voluntarily joined both the Croatian and Serbian forces.

The greatest Rusyn losses took place during the battle for Vukovar. The majority of Rusyn deaths, however, were civilian not military. During the battle, many Rusyns fled to other parts of Croatia or to the neighboring Vojvodina in Serbia. Others fled to western Europe, North America, and Australia. The result is the following. In 1991, before the outbreak of war, there were 3,023 Rusyns officially recorded in the Osijek district. Today there are almost none. This includes Vukovar, where before the war Rusyns were one of the largest national minorities.

After the Serbs took control of the Vukovar region, Rusyns who had previously fled their homes were barred from returning if any family member had supported the Croats. This meant anyone who had fought with the Croatian army, sympathized with the Croats, or was of Croatian nationality. As for those Rusyn families who managed to remain in their homes, any family member who had sympathized with the Croats was expelled. This occurred not only in Vukovar, but also in the nearby Rusyn villages of Mikloševci and Petrovci. These expulsions were carried out by Serbian paramilitary groups and by the new local Serbian authorities just after the Yugoslav army left and before United Nation's troops took up their positions.

Rusyn churches in Vukovar, Mikloševci, and Petrovci were damaged in the fighting. Many homes were pillaged, damaged, or completely destroyed. In homes temporarily abandoned, Serb newcomers were settled. The original Rusyn owners were pressured to sign papers indicating they were leaving their homes voluntarily to settle in other parts of Croatia. In the spring of 1992, Rusyns from Vukovar (April 20), Mikloševci (May 18), and Petrovci (May 22) were robbed of money and other belongings before they were deported by bus to Croatia. The villages surrounding Mikloševci and Petrovci are still inhabited largely by Rusyns. At present the area is under Serbian control and wartime conditions prevail. Basic necessities such as food and fuel are limited or non-existent.

Rusyns in the neighboring Vojvodina organized a relief campaign for the Rusyns in Petrovci and Mikloševci, as well as for those forcibly resettled to other parts of Croatia. Ruski Krstur's school in 1992 provided materials to rebuild damaged village schools. The goal was to resume Rusyn-language education in Petrovci and Mikloševci. Some students from these villages and other places were brought to the school in Ruski Krstur.

Rusyns are under various kinds of pressure to leave not only villages such as Mikloševci and Petrovci in Serbian-controlled eastern Croatia but also to leave the Vojvodina. Serbian pressure takes various forms: pleas to repatriate national minorities; settlement of Serbian refugees in or nearby Rusyn villages; threats that Rusyns will be punished if caught celebrating Christian holidays according to the Catholic calendar; looting Rusyn churches (Bačinci) and beating priests (Bačinci, Ruski Krstur).

War has brought a drastic reduction in the standard of living. All regions in the former Yugoslavia have suffered and are much poorer as a result of the internal strife and fighting. It is feared that Rusyn amateur and professional cultural institutions may become victims of the economic drain caused by the war. The Rusyn community may be even more severely hurt than others because it is small and has no independent economic base. Signs of an impending crisis are already in evidence.

The Rusyn publishing house *Ruske Slovo* in Novi Sad is in a very poor financial state. Three years ago the weekly Rusyn newspaper, *Ruske slovo*, contained twenty pages, now it has only eight. The monthly youth journal *Mak* was a separate publication, now it is just a supplement to *Ruske slovo*. The year 1992 was the fortieth anniversary of *Svetlost*, a journal for literature, culture, and the arts. From 1972 to 1991, it appeared once every two months, but in 1992, there was only enough money to publish one issue. In previous years, *Ruske Slovo* regularly published between ten and twenty books on poetry, prose, arts, science, and popular culture, but in 1992 the number was reduced to five.

In Croatia, the offices of the journal *Nova Dumka* in Vukovar have been destroyed. As a result, the publication was moved to Zagreb, and in 1992 only one issue was published as compared to four to seven issues a year before. In the last few years, the Rusyns in Croatia published two books and an annual almanac, but in 1992 no books were published.

Every year the Society for Rusyn Language and Literature in Novi Sad published a scholarly journal, *Tvorosc* (in 1988 the name was changed to *Studia Ruthenica*), but in 1992 this journal did not appear at all. In 1991, a program where Rusyns from abroad could study in the Rusyn language in the *gymnasium* (high school) in Ruski Krstur was started. When war broke out later that same year, however, these foreign students were sent back home.

In former Yugoslavia, Rusyns held positions in all levels of government: the provincial (Vojvodina); the republican (Serbia and Croatia); and the federal (Yugoslavia). Now there are no Rusyns left at any level of government in either Serbia or in Croatia. Nor are there any Rusyns in upper-level management positions in major corporations, whether in communications, transport, metallurgical, energy, or other important fields. There are also no longer any Rusyn mayors in major cities, even though at one time there were mayors of Zagreb, Novi Sad, Kula, Šid and so on.

Today economic depression is all pervasive. Most Rusyns still live in rural centers and work in agriculture. High inflation and the country's disastrous economic policies have impacted negatively on agricultural communities. The largest and, until recently, the most prosperous "Rusyn" economic institution in Ruski Krstur was in 1992 split into two separate organizations. Both now are severely underfunded and have little economic power. The Rusyn print shop *Ruske Slovo* in Ruski Krstur cannot carry out its modernization plan and is working at a

diminished capacity. A similar situation has developed in the Rusyn village of Kucura where a metal producing plant and an agricultural cooperative are in a major economic crisis. Barriers to trade have been set up by each of the republics formerly comprising Yugoslavia. Before 1991, Ruski Krstur was renowned as an exporter of paprika and sweet-corn; Kucura as an exporter of agricultural seeds; Djurdjevo as an exporter of watermelons and Rusyn villages in Srem as exporters of livestock. Today Rusyns are unable to export anywhere.

Keeping the Sun on the Horizon

Rusyns have retained the heritage of their forefathers. They respect their elders. They always use the respectful plural form when speaking to their elders, or address them as uncle and aunt. Young people greet with deference their elders on the street. Children must take care of their parents in later life.

In Ruski Krstur, the school and dormitory are well cared for, much more so than in the rest of the Vojvodina. In 1992, students at this school obtained the highest grades in standardized testing. Despite their talent, Rusyn students do not get the necessary financial support in order to continue their studies at the best educational institutions, especially abroad.

In 1971, Rusyn amateur theatre was considered among the best in all of Yugoslavia. A Rusyn children's group has for many years been the best in all of Serbia. Although Rusyn theatre is staged in the Rusyn language, there are no professional directors of Rusyn background. There are some students who are interested in studying theater and film but no funds are available.

Almost all Rusyns are bilingual and many speak more than two languages. Exclusively Rusyn schools exist in Ruski Krstur, Djurdjevo, and Kucura; however, only forty percent of all Rusyn pupils are educated at these schools. Whereas the other sixty percent might be able to study Rusyn language, literature, and culture at Serbian or Croatian language schools, there is a shortage of books for such purposes, especially at the high school level. This shortage could be overcome by photocopying the required materials. None of the Rusyn schools, however, has equipment with sufficient capacity to reproduce these materials in sufficient quantities.

The Ruska Matka Society is an organization founded in 1990 and dedicated to the protection and promotion of the Rusyn heritage and culture. In addition to its other activities, the organization has set up a Rusyn Archives and the Rusyn Library, whose goal is to collect and document the lives and times of well-known Rusyn persons and institutions. Rusyn publications have never been consolidated in one location. No computer program exists in any Rusyn organization or institution which is suitable for setting up a proper reference system for such materials.

The Ruska Matka Society is also instrumental in collecting Rusyn artwork and sculpture. A gallery will be opened shortly in Ruski Krstur. Together with the existing national museum and church museum the new gallery and library will be the only cultural center for Rusyns outside the Carpathian homeland.

From 1919 to 1941, Rusyns financed their national cultural institutions from their own resources. During this period, the economy flourished in Rusyn communities. Rusyns were educated at well-known European universities (Prague, Berlin, Paris, and Odessa). They applied their knowledge to the advantage of their people. For example, in Ruski Krstur, electrical power was in use earlier than in some other places (1924). Ruski Krstur had its own printing press in 1936, even though at that time such presses were usually located only in large urban centers. Rusyn doctors were able not only to prescribe medicines, but many could also perform surgery. In other words, Rusyns had friends and contacts throughout the world. They had information and know-how regarding the most modern practices. Well-educated persons thus assisted their people in establishing a prosperous economy. In the Vojvodina (Bačka and Srem) such traditions continue to exist. These traditions are like embers waiting to be ignited again.

Rusyns know that there is a sun above the horizon. It is necessary to blow away the clouds of war which are holding back the warm rays of the sun. Rusyns need the sun, they need a new perspective. Without the sun, the mighty oak withers. Without the sun, the Rusyn seed may still fall to the ground but it will not grow. What will be the destiny of the Rusyns along the Danube without the sun?

YUGOSLAV RUSYN YOUTH FUND

In response to the difficult and often horrendous conditions that have prevailed in former Yugoslavia since war began in 1991, a Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund has been established to assist Rusyn elementary, high school, and university students in the Vojvodina (Serbia) and Croatia during their difficult times. The Youth Fund will attempt to fulfill requests from the Ruska Matka Society in Ruski Krstur, which must now undertake activity on behalf of educational programs that previously had been the responsibility of the Yugoslav government. Among the society's needs are the following: (1) copier, laser printer, and scanner to print schoolbooks and newspapers; (2) two FAX machines for communication between Rusyns in the Vojvodina (Serbia) and Croatia; (3) two scholarships for Rusyn students to study at the University of Novi Sad or abroad; (4) travel grant for a teacher from the United States or Canada to provide instruction in English at a summer school in Ruski Krstur.

A donation of fifty dollars or more can go an incredibly long way. A list of donors (unless anonymity is desired) and the materials provided to Rusyns in former Yugoslavia will be published in future issues of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*. Please be generous and send your donations to:

Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund
Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center
Box 131-B
Orwell, VT 05760

Bratislava, Slovakia. On December 9, 1992, a five-member delegation of the Rusyn Renaissance society (Rusyns'ka obroda) led by its chairman Vasyl' Turok met with representatives of the new Slovak government headed by Prime Minister Vladimír Mečiar, which came to power earlier in the summer. Discussion focused on the request that Rusyns have their own program on the Prešov radio station. The Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kováč informed the delegation that the government will request that Slovak State Radio provide a Rusyn-language program. He also stated that the Slovak government will continue to support the Rusyn Renaissance Society and its publications.

OUR FRONT COVER

Cartoon by Miroslav Homa, a reader of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* in Novi Sad, Yugoslavia.

Remnants of the city museum at the Eltz Castle in Vukovar. Photographed summer of 1991.



RECENT EVENTS

Nyíregyháza, Hungary. The 1992-1993 academic year began in October with the inauguration of a Department of Ukrainian and Rusyn Philology at the György Bessenyei Teacher's College in Nyíregyháza. The head of the new department is Dr. István Udvari, a linguist by training whose many publications deal with the history of the Rusyn language, in particular the variant spoken and written in the Vojvodina. The department treats Rusyn and Ukrainian as distinct linguistic phenomena, and it has plans for developing the study of both languages in Hungary. Under Dr. Udvari's direction, the department is preparing: (1) a Rusyn-Hungarian phrasebook (using the Vojvodinian variant of Rusyn); (2) a bibliography of Rusyn studies in Hungary; and (3) the republication of little-known works on Rusyns by Hungarian Slavists, among them the well-known scholar of Rusyn origin, Antal Hodinka. Alongside the University of Novi Sad in Yugoslavia (Serbia), Nyíregyháza is the second institution of higher learning that has its own department specializing in Rusyn studies.

Prešov, Slovakia. On December 2, 1992, the Aleksander Duchnovyč Society and the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Prešov co-sponsored a seminar on the 130th anniversary of the Society of St. John the Baptist. Established in Prešov in 1862, the St. John the Baptist Society was the first legal cultural and educational organization for Rusyns living south of the Carpathians in what was then the Hungarian Kingdom. In its early

years it published school texts, and throughout its existence it functioned as a residence for students attending the Greek Catholic Seminary and *gymnasium* (high school). In 1948, Czechoslovakia's Communist government closed the student residence as part of its eventual plan to liquidate the Greek Catholic Church. The main speaker at the anniversary seminar was Dr. Olena Rudlovčák, who traced the history of the St. John the Baptist Society.

Prešov, Slovakia. In January 1993, an Institute for the Study of the Rusyn Language (Naučno-výskumnýj inštitút rusyns'koho jazyka) was established under the auspices of the Rusyn Renaissance Society (Rusyns'ka obroda). As a result of its establishment, the new institute, based in Prešov, has already fulfilled one of the goals set at the "first congress" of the Rusyn language held in Bardejovské Kúpele in early November 1992 (see *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1992, pp. 4-5). The institute is headed by Dr. Jurij Pan'ko, an associate professor (*docent*) at Šafárik University in Prešov. Among the first members are Štefan Bunganyč, Professors M. Rohal', V. Jabur, and M. Mika, Dr. J. Smarža, Dr. P. Sička, and J. Hryba. In its efforts to codify a standard Rusyn literary language, the institute intends to concentrate first on publishing the Rusyn grammar by S. Bunganyč and the rule book (*Pravylo*) with dictionary by Jurij Pan'ko. The institute also will coordinate the international terminological and orthographic commission for the Rusyn language established at the first congress.

SCHOLARLY RESEARCH ON LEMKOS IN THE HOMELAND

I am a Ph.D. candidate in political science with the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto. The topic of my doctoral dissertation is the 1947 Operation Vistula, that is the involuntary resettlement of Lemkos from their Carpathian homeland to other parts of northern and western Poland. In particular, I am interested to know how and why governments choose involuntary population resettlement as a means of dealing with ethnic minority problems, and how minorities who are subjected to resettlement respond in an attempt to ensure their own long-term collective survival. The collection of data necessary to answer fully these questions required me to conduct interviews with Lemko survivors of Operation Vistula and their descendants, as well as to visit national, provincial, and municipal archives in Poland. To achieve these goals, I spent two years in Poland, the first of which (1990-1991) was funded by a generous grant from the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) based in Princeton, New Jersey. What follows is a summary description of my experiences in Poland. For the sake of clarity, I have divided the discussion about my research activity into three categories: interviews, archives, and libraries.

Interviews

The original purpose of my interview projects was to compile a representative and comprehensive oral and written sample of the past experience and present state of ethnic consciousness among Lemkos both in their pre-resettlement Carpathian ethnic homeland (the eastern village project) and in the western part of Poland (the western village project) to which they were resettled in 1947.

The usefulness of individual interviews varied with the quality of a respondent's memory and with a particular respondent's willingness to speak openly. My experience ran the gamut and included: (1) talkative, helpful individuals with astonishingly detailed memories ("the soldiers came at 8 am," or "it was raining that day"); (2) suspicious subjects who had convinced themselves that I was working for the Polish security police; and (3) those who could remember little, but who out of personal enthusiasm or "political" conviction still wanted to be included. Because many of the respondents were rural farmers, the settings and circumstances reflected the natural rhythms of their lifestyles. Hence, interviews were conducted everywhere—in barns, kitchens, gardens, forests—with respondents doing everything from sawing wood to shoveling manure.

Originally, I had hoped to record the interviews on tape, but soon I found that shyness or fear (especially in the case of the eldest subjects) made this more harmful than beneficial. I felt that I received more

honest answers and freer speculation when respondents saw that their comments were not being recorded. The only alternative was to make rapid, discreet notations during the interview. There is, unfortunately, a certain loss rate inherent in this procedure, which I tried to mitigate by rewriting the notes and filling in the spaces as quickly as possible following the conclusion of the interview.

The majority of interviews were with villagers old enough to have been adults during the resettlement (now in the 60 to 90 age-old bracket). These interviews focused mainly on recalling the events just prior to, during, and immediately after resettlement. Interviews with middle-aged people were the least fruitful. Because they were small children or young teens at the time of resettlement, they were too young to remember much. Moreover, by now this middle-aged group was too old to speak with the impetuous freedom and honesty of my younger subjects. As a result, I chose to deemphasize the middle-aged group and to concentrate primarily on the eldest generation and on their grandchildren (mostly ranging in age from 18 to 30, therefore, not yet born during the resettlement period.) Contrary to expectation, this youngest group was a gold mine of information.

A separate aspect of the interviews were those conducted with individual Lemko community leaders who I decided to meet because of their political or academic activity, the popular press, hearsay, or other people's recommendations. These interviews were spaced out irregularly throughout the year, and as often as not they occurred by chance when I happened to be in a particular city or at a particular gathering. Some were structured (I had interview questions and tape recorder at hand); others were little more than chance, informal discussions.

The interview portion of my research was the most distracting and injurious to my work. I was not able to function in the hoped-for atmosphere of benign neglect, but instead in one of intellectual warfare. By some, I was not treated as an academic, but rather as a political activist attempting to forward a certain agenda. Depending on the point of view of the individual, I was received either with the kind of warmth that Americans typically reserve for friends or I was subjected to petty snubs and suspicions. Such an atmosphere was sometimes humorous and sometimes annoying.

The situation has its roots in the unresolved question of Lemko national identity. There is quite a bit of controversy and friction between those who consider Lemkos to be part of a larger "Rusyn" nationality and those who consider them to be a Ukrainian regional subculture. Almost invariably, the prevailing academic, political, public, and private behavior of participants in this conflict reflect a "he-who-is-not-with-us-is-against-us" mindset. It is difficult to find a common meeting ground or vocabulary. For those who consider that there is a Rusyn nationality, no "proof" is ever necessary. For those who reject such a notion or feel that Rusyns are

really Ukrainians, no "proof" is ever sufficient.

My own sense is that, for purposes of academic research, the identity question is just that, an unsettled "question," whereas any portrayal of Lemko ethnic origin as anything but solidly within the Ukrainian fold is seen (and described in Poland's Ukrainian press) as the result of cultural ignorance, or of "Ukrainophobic" or "pro-Polish" inclinations. My willingness to incorporate into my research both the Ukrainian and Rusyn orientations (as these points of view are referred to in Poland) antagonized some with whom I spoke.

My own ethnic heritage (I am an American of Lemko Rusyn background) did not help matters. I had at first hoped to keep my heritage private, but when asked directly, as I invariably was, I felt uncomfortable taking "evasive action." I originally tried to present myself as a nice, neutral "American," but too many people wanted me to "choose" (or to chose for me) from among the "available" regional identities. Subsequent to revealing my heritage, I found myself variously subjected (depending on the individual) to some form of negative behavior—gentle friendly inducements and implied welcome into the Ukrainian fold, appeals to my "common sense," ridicule, or, most frequently, simple malevolent silence, neglect, and/or evasions.

My academic associations likewise provoked negative responses. My thesis advisor, Professor Paul Robert Magocsi, who is sympathetic to the Rusyn orientation and, ironically, the holder of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto, is seen by many of Poland's Ukrainian community leaders as a one-man disinformation campaign, participating with Poles in a historic anti-Ukrainian divide-and-conquer strategy through the popularization here and abroad of a Polish-conceived fictitious "Rusyn" nationality. When I could, I tried to avoid mentioning my academic affiliation.

That this sort of atmosphere had an injurious impact on my work goes without saying. It is difficult, however, to produce the sort of concrete examples that would satisfyingly illustrate the prevailing atmosphere. This is because some conflicts are fought more with the carefully dropped word, the concealing smile, or the ephemeral promise than with "polite," objectively-refereed and footnoted academic debates. The following examples, then, may be said to be intuitively rather than rationally acquired.

Given the small size of the academic and cultural community that is actually involved in Lemko matters and the intensity of the controversy troubling this community, "reputations" are quickly acquired on the strength of relatively minor pretexts such as personal background. Although I arrived in Poland as an unknown with regard to professional accomplishment or personal acquaintance, I seemed to have acquired a "political" reputation. Some individuals seemed biased against me without our ever having met previously. Others refused to talk to me either by not appearing at a pre-arranged time or by canceling at the last moment without explanation. As one colleague cynically advised me, I should just "show up" at the doors of certain Ukrainian-oriented Lemkos, so as not to give them time to inquire among themselves about my background and refuse to see me.

The Rusyn-Ukrainian conflict affected my grassroots work as well. In a "western" village, I had the odd experience of having those who declined to be interviewed mutter about being afraid, especially if "others find out." Among those who did willingly speak to me, a few later came back to retract comments or opinions and, in one case, was desperate even to the point of forcing twenty US dollars into my hand and begging me with tears and trembling hands to destroy the tape of our interview.

Why these peculiar, fearful behaviors? One reason is the advanced age of some respondents, which makes their memories of past interethnic conflict more real to them than is the rather different present-day situation within Poland. Among younger respondents, ignorance of their own heritage or feelings of inferiority, vulnerability, and isolation (perpetuated partly by a relative lack of community leadership), pushes them into a traditional evasive reaction. In short, many Lemkos act like shyghosts, visible only to "believers." In the face of hostile observers, they simply disappear into the Polish background. Unfortunately, there are many hostile observers from both the Lemko-Ukrainian and Ukrainian communities, who are better organized and who have higher profile leaders and more financial resources than the Lemko Rusyns are themselves able to muster.

Given my somewhat discouraging experiences in the western village interview project, I decided at the urging of a colleague to cancel planned interview work at the eastern village that I had originally chosen. My colleague, who came from the eastern region, informed me that my arrival might be anticipated by some local hostile Lemko Ukrainians, who could possibly use their influence to discourage villagers who otherwise might have been inclined to cooperate with me.

As a result of this concern, I selected instead a very isolated hilly Lemko village (no near or direct bus or car contact—the only paved road access was being completed while I was there) in the same region. To my pleasant surprise, the villagers were very cooperative and tried their best to answer my difficult questions. Shyness and natural rural reticence were the only difficulties.

To the extent that a Rusyn "movement" can be said to exist in Poland, it is astonishingly decentralized and peopled by a somewhat disorganized and motley assortment of dedicated die-hards. The average person active in this Rusyn renaissance is young (age range 20 to 40s), college educated, employed full time in an unrelated profession, married to a working spouse, and supporting children. A disproportionate number of these Rusyns are engineers, scientists, and the like, perhaps reflecting a tendency observed often among repressed minorities to avoid the more overtly politicized "soft" sciences and humanities for the relatively unbiased, dispassionate, and esoteric comforts of mathematical formulae and physical laws.

The most important thing to understand from the above "personnel profile" is that the Rusyn movement is essentially a part-time movement driven by people who otherwise bear the standard burdens of home and office plus the frustrations of a still quite inefficient, bureaucratized, and impoverished socioeconomic

system. Given such arduous conditions, the Rusyn community leadership's stubborn and apparently irrational commitment to such a precarious looking future, not to mention a low-profile but loyal following at the grassroots, can only be explained by the depth of the emotional need that a long-denied Rusyn consciousness fills among some Lemkos.

Archival Research

Overall, I would rate this part of my work as the biggest success. The array of archives open to me was much greater than I had anticipated. Political liberalization of the recent past has resulted in the gradual lifting of formal and informal restrictions on the public debate and private academic inquiry into the traditionally sensitive topic of the past and present condition of ethnic minorities in Poland. These developments meant that I had easy access to archival collections which, I was told, would have been denied me as recently as four years ago on account of my foreign citizenship and "political unreliability." Quite inadvertently, then, my arrival in Poland was perfectly timed.

Based on my research needs, the archival geography looked something like this: archives in the east (e.g. Rzeszów, Przemyśl) contain excellent material on different aspects of the pre-1947 situation among Lemkos, as well as on the conduct of the resettlement itself at the sending points. The situation at the receiving points and the subsequent experiences of the Lemko Rusyns are to be found in records located in the northern and western parts of the country (e.g., Wrocław, Zielona Góra). The archives in Warsaw are the richest, whether those of the Polish Military Archives, the Polish Communist party, or the governmental agency which oversaw resettlement. I decided to work my way from the broadest (national) to narrowest (regional) kind of archival sources, and backwards in time, meaning that I started in Warsaw and then planned to move west to east.

Unfortunately, I did not know before going to Poland what I know now about the archival landscape, and a fair amount of time was lost. I came to learn only after having finalized arrangements and having arrived in Poland that it would have been more convenient and useful to have based myself in Warsaw rather than Cracow.

Whatever difficulties I may have had in the archival aspect of my research were administrative, not political, in nature. The one exception was the Archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which during my stay became embroiled in a national controversy unrelated to my research. As a result, certain sensitive collections of the Archive were subsequently placed under temporary restriction, affecting even those researchers, such as myself, who had earlier been granted access.

While one might be philosophical about the impossibility of surmounting political hurdles, bureaucratic hurdles required more trial-and-error learning. For example, appearing in person in order to expedite archive access was sometimes the worst thing to do. Officials always seemed to find that you lacked some piece of paper, or that someone significant was

out that day. Then there were the archives which were closed for "renovation" or which officially did not exist anymore—actually reasonable excuses given the fragile state of the Polish economy and building ownership quandaries opened by recent property reforms.

Searching for material turned out to be a much slower process than I had expected. Limited hours of access, occasionally indifferent staff, and less than optimal work conditions (low daily maximum number of requests allowed, occasionally poor lighting, or broken microfilm readers) really slow down a normally fast and efficient worker. As one archivist commented: "They pretend to pay us, so we pretend to work."

Libraries

In the two years previous to my departure for Poland, I had been compiling a multilingual bibliography. Many of these sources were in Polish and unavailable in North America. Thus, part of my time was spent working through this list at various libraries, copying those which were useful (on quick inspection) and eliminating the irrelevant ones. Together these activities formed the bulk of what I considered "in between" research; that is, Cracow-based work which was neither archival nor field (village) research. This work was interspaced between the other two types. I used these times as rest periods, since they relieved me of the stresses of Polish public transportation or getting lost in strange cities. The Jagiellonian University Library with its friendly, helpful staff is highly recommended for such "rest periods."

Summary

The material I collected over the last year will be indispensable to answer the questions posed in my dissertation. The oral and written interviews will help me understand the individual and group-level survival strategies which ethnic minorities use to sustain their communities following displacement from their homes. The archival material will help to explain how governments select and revise ethnic minority policies. In the end, my research will hopefully provide useful insights into a watershed event in the difficult modern history of the Lemkos.

Would I encourage anyone to follow in my footsteps? Most definitely. I regard my research, especially the two years spent in Poland, as higher education at its best: a life-affirming, people-oriented exercise in intellectual discipline and simple hard work. I have had the opportunity to make a contribution to my profession, as well as to challenge myself and my beliefs. I have come to know many courageous, gentle people with humorous quirks, quiet commitment, clear eyes, and beautiful faces. I learned to see what their eyes see, and to feel some part of what they feel. I am privileged to count some of them as personal friends. Now back home, I can still see with their eyes and feel with their hearts. What could matter more?

Susyn Yvonne Mihalasky
Toronto, Ontario

FIFTEEN YEARS OF SERVICE

With the end of 1992, the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center (C-RRC) has completed fifteen years of scholarly and cultural activity on behalf of Carpatho-Rusyns in North America and Europe. The primary function of the C-RRC has been and remains the publication and/or distribution of books, pamphlets, and a quarterly magazine dealing with all aspects of Rusyn history and culture.

During its first fifteen years of existence, the C-RRC has fulfilled 12,046 orders which represent the sale of 22,887 books and pamphlets. We have published as well 60 issues of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* quarterly, which reaches several hundred individual subscribers as well as 25 leading research libraries in North America and Europe.

Since our tenth anniversary report (see the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, Vol. XI, No. 3, 1988), the Carpatho-Rusyn homeland as well as all of East Central Europe has been rocked by profound political and social changes connected with the Revolution of 1989 and its aftermath. The C-RRC has responded to the new situation by reporting on and participating in the changes that have taken place.

For instance, the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* is the only publication that has covered systematically since 1989 the political and cultural activity in all countries where Rusyns live—Ukraine, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia—activity which has resulted in a virtual rebirth of a Rusyn nationality. Aside from reporting, the C-RRC has: (1) participated in the First World Congress of Rusyns in Medzilaborce, Slovakia (March 1991); (2) co-sponsored scholarly seminars at the Fourth World Congress of Soviet and East European Studies in Harrogate, England (July 1990) and at universities in Užhorod, Cracow, Prešov, and Novi Sad (March 1991); and (3) co-sponsored the Working Seminar or First Congress to codify a Rusyn literary language in Bardejovské Kúpele, Slovakia (November 1992).

The C-RRC has also helped in the publication of Rusyn-language books in Slovakia and sponsored research visits to North America for Rusyn scholars and writers from Poland, Slovakia, and Yugoslavia. In all these activities, the C-RRC has maintained cordial and cooperative relations with Rusyn religious and secular organizations in the United States, and it has responded to requests for cooperation from newly-established Rusyn cultural organizations in Užhorod, Ukraine; Prešov and Medzilaborce, Slovakia; Legnica, Poland; Prague, Czech Republic; Budapest, Hungary; and Ruski Kerestur, Yugoslavia.

In the years ahead, the C-RRC hopes to continue its role as a source of information about Rusyns for all interested parties, whether they be governmental bodies, libraries, the media, students, scholars, or descendants of Rusyn immigrants living in various parts of the world.

A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Heritage

THE CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN

The *Carpatho-Rusyn American* (ISSN 0749-9213) is a quarterly publication of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, Inc., a non-profit cultural organization whose purpose is to promote knowledge about all aspects of Carpatho-Rusyn culture through the publication and distribution of scholarly and educational material about the Carpatho-Rusyn heritage in Europe and America.

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A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage

Федор Віцо / ІЛЬКО СОВА З БАЮСОВА



AN AMERICAN IN KRYNICA GUEST EDITORIAL

I could hardly believe it. There I was in Krynica, Poland, at the Second World Congress of Rusyns. The congress was held in the indescribably beautiful Lemko Region of south-eastern Poland, once home to tens of thousands of Lemko Rusyns prior to their forced deportation to Ukraine or areas near Poland's border with Germany. Today there is again a small but growing Rusyn presence in the Lemko Region as the children and grandchildren of those displaced have returned to their native region. One need only view the splendor of the Carpathian Mountains to understand why.

I felt how historic this moment was, and I was not alone. Polish, Slovak, and Yugoslav radio and television covered the proceedings. Every Rusyn newspaper in Eastern Europe was there, as well as reporters from other countries who interviewed Rusyns about the steps they are taking to revive their culture and to meet the challenges they face.

There was a real sense of anticipation in the air—and a real sense of camaraderie. But this all began already before the conference. Earlier in the week, I and another American delegate, Peter Baycura, were visiting Rusyn villages in northeastern Slovakia and stopped at the Warhol Family Museum of Modern Art in Medzilaborce. There we talked with Mychal Turok, whose brother Vasyl is president of the Rusyns'ka Obroda (Rusyn Renaissance Society) in Slovakia. Mychal told us that the society was sponsoring a bus from Prešov to Krynica for the congress, and that Rusyns from Transcarpathia (Ukraine), Slovakia, Yugoslavia, and Hungary would all be there for the ride. He explained that we were welcome to go with them, an invitation we readily accepted.

We arrived that Friday afternoon at the Duchnovýč Theater in Prešov, where we met Dean Poloka, another member of the American delegation, and the many Rusyns who would be travelling with us. We boarded the bus and left for Krynica, winding our way up through the Carpathian Mountains of northern Slovakia.

As we travelled, the mountains got higher, the villages tinier and more scenic, and there was the singing—yes, the singing. Although we Rusyns came from several different countries, we had as a binding tie our culture, manifested here in our folk music. “Červená ruža,” “Ej, oj tili tili,” “A ja taka čarna,” and many others were songs shared by all of us who had gathered for the same purpose, the perpetuation of a living Rusyn culture that centuries ago gave birth to these songs. How can I describe it? Even before the congress had begun, its key message had already been delivered and reaffirmed. The Rusyns ARE! Here we were, people from five different countries, living our culture, singing our songs, preparing to discuss our achievements, in short—as we drove through the ever steepening Carpathian homeland—being RUSYNS!

I reflected on the statement heard so often in my college years and since then about the various cultures in the world. Governments, political systems, histories, to some degree even languages (the vast majority of Irish in the world today speak English, not Gaelic) do not determine an independent people or their culture—people do! It is how a people lives, its value systems, its artistic expression, its sense of oneness and uniqueness that determine who is a people or nationality. And here was proof of it. Despite the fact that scholars may have debated whether Rusyns are a people, in the Rusyn community the answer is quite clear. All of us on the bus knew we are a unique people with a unique

culture. That simply cannot be taken away from us.

At the congress itself, many spoke passionately about their beloved Rusyn culture and how important it was to be identified with it. I listened as the Yugoslav Rusyns told of their incredible achievements in writing, language, publication, and education, while lamenting the division and, in some instances, the dispersal of their community caught in a Yugoslav war in which they play no role. The Rusyns of Serbia described the limitations of continuing their cultural work during wartime and the difficulty in keeping in touch with their fellow Rusyns in the Srem region of Croatia, thousands of whom have also lost their lives or have been uprooted from villages they have called home for over two centuries.

I listened as the first ever delegate from Romania stood to address us about the renaissance of Rusyn culture in her country, beginning by apologizing that she must speak in Ukrainian because in the school system of communist Romania, it was the only language besides Romanian in which she, as a Rusyn, was permitted to study.

I listened as a radio reporter from Berlin—the granddaughter of a Lemko Rusyn relocated to Germany—described her sense of longing for her people: “I would tell friends in Germany about my people, the Lemkos, and they would say, ‘there is no such people—we have never heard of them’. Then I come here,” she said, her eyes brightening, “and I see that I am not alone.”

I listened as the Rusyns of Ukraine described their frustration with a government at best lukewarm about their efforts and a failed economy pushing them to the brink of disaster. And yet, their spirit remains undaunted. They spoke eloquently about their efforts to assure that Transcarpathia become once again the center of Rusyn cultural and religious life that it was at an earlier time.

I listened as the Rusyns of Hungary declared with joy the news that they and their society, the Organization of Rusyns in Hungary, has been officially recognized and that it is already publishing scholarly works and poetry in Rusyn. I heard them talk as well about a new Department of Ukrainian and Rusyn Philology at a Teacher's College in Nyíregyháza.

I heard the Rusyns of Slovakia talk about their Rusyn-language publications, their professional Rusyn-language theater, and the progress that all the Rusyn groups have made in eastern Europe working together for the codification and standardization of the Rusyn language, including the establishment in Prešov of an Institute for the Study of Rusyn Language.

Finally, I heard the Lemkos of Poland, our hosts, relate how after some delay governmental authorities at various levels provided financial as well as moral support for the Second World Congress. The Lemkos were particularly concerned that their right to return home and to reclaim lands lost in 1947 be recognized by the Polish government.

The information was overwhelming. These Rusyn brothers and sisters of ours, most of whom are young and college educated, have achieved so much in so short a time. Why have they fought so hard for their culture and identity? Why were they there in Krynica, devoting their time and resources? Why was I there? Perhaps it is the inescapable fact that we cannot deny who we are. Perhaps being Rusyn defines us for ourselves. Perhaps Aleksander Duchnovýč was more than a priest and a poet. Was he not also a prophet when he wrote: “I was, am, and will be a Rusyn . . .”

John J. Righetti
Mars, Pennsylvania

JOSYF SEMBRATOVYČ (1821-1900)

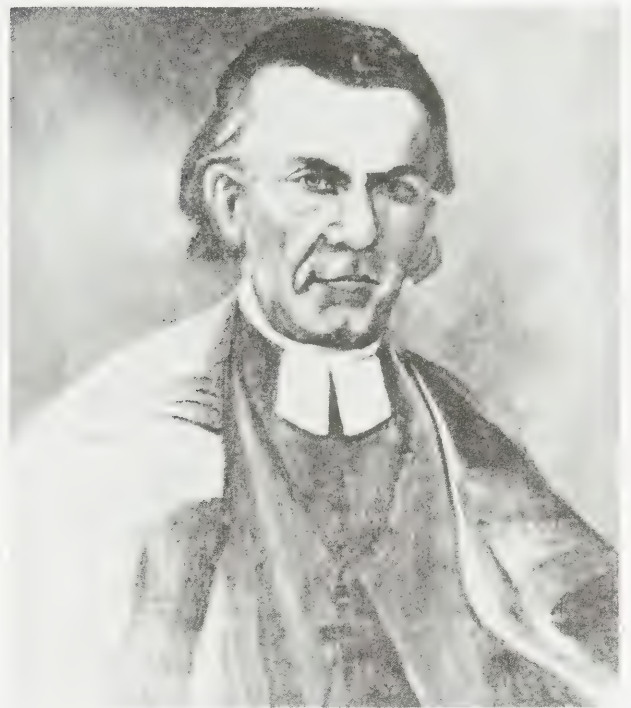
The church has traditionally played a decisive role in the life of Carpatho-Rusyns. Moreover, at least until the twentieth century, it was usually within the church that young Rusyns could hope to pursue a career other than one on the land. Some Rusyn families even came to be considered “dynasties,” because they included many priests who were related as fathers, uncles, sons, or grandsons. One such “dynasty” of Greek Catholic priests was from the Sembratovyč family in the Lemko Region of what was before World War I the province of Galicia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the course of the nineteenth century, two young Sembratovyč’s became priests and were to attain the office of metropolitan of L’viv, the highest ecclesiastical office in the Greek Catholic Church.

One of these future metropolitans was Josyf Sembratovyč. He was born in the Lemko Region village of Krynica in present-day southeastern Poland, where his father was the local Greek Catholic parish priest. The young Josyf was sent to the Jesuit College in nearby Nowy Sącz for his basic education. From there he went on to the Central Greek Catholic Seminary in the imperial capital of Vienna as well as to the University of Vienna from where he received a doctorate in theology in 1850. Two years later, he was appointed prefect and vice-rector of the Vienna Greek Catholic Seminary until 1859, when he returned to Galicia to serve as professor of classical Greek and the New Testament at the University of L’viv. It was during this period that the young devoted teacher and priest made a strong impression on two politically influential Galician aristocratic families, the polonized Greek Catholic Sapiehas and Dzieduszyckis.

Such friendships were to help advance Sembratovyč’s career. In 1865, he was consecrated a bishop and two years later was appointed auxiliary to the eparchy of Przemyśl. Then, in 1870, at the relatively young age of 49, he was named metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church in L’viv. At that time, the Greek Catholic Church was still the most important political and social as well as religious institution representing the East Slavic Rus’ population of Galicia. It is not surprising, therefore, that Metropolitan Sembratovyč was to be drawn into all aspects of his people’s lives.

The new metropolitan was, in particular, concerned with reducing widespread alcoholism and controlling the educational system within his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Both policies, however, were met with resistance by the local Polish landowning nobility. But it was problems directly related to his own people that proved to be most difficult for Sembratovyč to solve.

The second half of the nineteenth century in Austria Galicia coincided with the rise of nationalism. Among the local East Slavic populace who called themselves Rusyns and who were virtually all of the Greek Catholic faith, controversy arose regarding national identity. Most leaders followed the orientation of the Greek Catholic metropolitanate of L’viv epitomized by Sembratovyč himself. They were known as Old Ruthenians (*starorusyny*), which meant they were loyal subjects of the Habsburg Empire with a distinct Greek Catholic Rus’ culture whose survival depended on the continued existence of Austria-Hungary. Other leaders, however—and this included priests as well as laymen—began to identify as Ukrainians and associate with those whom they considered to be their brethren living in the neighboring southern regions of what was then the Russian Empire. Still other leaders rejected all ideas of either Greek Catholic Rusyn or of Ukrainian national distinctiveness and instead felt



themselves to be part of one single Russian nationality (*obščerusskij narod*). These Russophiles also favored a “return to Orthodoxy” and eventually expected the Russian Empire to annex Galicia. The Austrian government as well as Galicia’s ruling Polish circles were naturally quite concerned about any national orientation that looked eastward for its salvation.

Metropolitan Sembratovyč, whose own Old Ruthenian and pro-Habsburg convictions were never questioned, was caught in the middle of the nationality problem. The same Galician-Polish aristocratic leaders who had supported him earlier in his career now blamed him for losing control of the situation. In particular, they were angered because of the participation of some of his priests in the “return to Orthodoxy” movement that in 1875 resulted in the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church in the Chelm region just north of Galicia as well as the acceptance in 1882 of Orthodoxy by the village of Hnylyčky located in Sembratovyč’s own Galician metropolitanate. The Hnylyčky affair convinced the Austrian emperor Franz Joseph to demand Sembratovyč’s resignation as metropolitan, a decision which the Vatican accepted.

Stripped of his hierarchical post, Sembratovyč moved to Rome where he spent the remaining years of his life. Despite his career in the highest echelons of the Greek Catholic Church, Sembratovyč never forgot his native Lemko Region. He reconsecrated the church in his native Krynica; he continued to help maintain the familial dynasty of Sembratovyč priests; and most important, he provided substantial financial support to the Rusyn boarding school (Rus’ka Bursa) in Nowy Sącz which assisted in the education of young Lemko Rusyns.

Throughout his life, Metropolitan Josyf Sembratovyč remained a symbol of Old Ruthenian culture and identity, the orientation to which incidentally the present-day Lemko Rusyn national revival traces its roots. In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, there seemed to be little place for Old Ruthenianism in Austrian Galicia where a fierce struggle was raging among partisans of the Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian nationalities.

Philip Michaels

CARPATHO-RUSYNS: THEIR CURRENT STATUS AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

The following report was prepared at the request of the Institute for East-West Security Studies in New York City for a conference on European Institutions and the Protection of National Minorities in East Central Europe and the Balkans that was held at Stišín Castle, near Prague, in former Czecho-Slovakia on October 10-13, 1991. One month later, in November 1991, the report was revised and delivered at a special session on Rusyns in another conference called National Minorities and Politics, held in Bratislava under the sponsorship of the European Foundation.

The presentation by Professor Magocsi provoked a spirited response in the press of Ukraine and in Ukrainian-language newspapers in Slovakia and Poland. An entire brochure entitled Political Rusynism in Practice, by Mykola Mušynka, was devoted to Professor Magocsi's report and its supposed "anti-Ukrainian character." Ukrainian newspapers and journals refused to publish the report by Professor Magocsi, while the brochure attacking his views was reprinted in thousands of copies in Kiev, Prešov, and Toronto.

In contrast, the Ethnographic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava published in its journal Slovenský národopis, Nos. 2 and 3 (1992) a Slovak translation of the Magocsi report with commentaries from the Slovak (L'udovít Haraksim), Ukrainian (Mykola Mušynka—different from his brochure statements), and Polish (Andrzej Zięba) perspectives followed by a response by the author. Together this material comprises perhaps the best discussion of the present Rusyn problem in Europe.

In this issue of the Carpatho-Rusyn American we publish the text (without notes and references) of the Magocsi report. Subsequent issues will include the three commentaries and the author's response.—Editor

Who Are The Rusyns?

In 1875, geographers from the old Hungarian Kingdom erected a monument in a remote region of their country that carried the following inscription: "Precise instruments have confirmed this point where the latitude and longitude lines meet as the center of Europe." Just over a century later, in 1977, the former Soviet authorities, who had by then ruled the area, erected a second monument to mark the center of the continent that stretches from the Arctic shores of Norway in the north to the beaches of Crete in the south, and from the coast of Ireland in the west to the Ural Mountains in the east. The precise center where the monuments are located is near the village of Dilove (formerly Trebušany) in the foothills of the northcentral Carpathian Mountains that from time immemorial has been inhabited by an East Slavic people called Carpatho-Rusyns, or simply Rusyns (sometimes in English: Ruthenians). Thus, in geographic terms, the Rusyns are not a peripheral group, but rather one whose homeland—Carpathian Rus'—is located literally in the heart of Europe.

According to present-day international boundaries, Rusyns live in more or less compact territory within the boundaries of three countries: Ukraine, Slovakia, and Poland. There is also a small group of Rusyns in Yugoslavia, descendants of immigrants who left the Carpathian homeland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In theory, the number of Rusyns could be as high as 1.2 million people. This includes 977,000 in the Transcarpathian oblast (former Subcarpathian Rus') of the Ukraine; 130,000 in the Prešov Region of northeastern Slovakia; 80,000 in the Lemko Region of southeastern Poland as well as in other parts of that country; And 30,000 in the Vojvodina (Bačka) and the Croatian

republic of former Yugoslavia.

The Problem of Nomenclature

It is important to keep in mind what is meant by the term *Rusyn*. Traditionally, the name *Rusyn*, or its local variant *Rusnak*, has been used by the East Slavic inhabitants of the Carpathian region to describe themselves. However, by the twentieth century, in particular its second half, the historic names *Rusyn/Rusnak* were replaced by others, such as *Ukrainian* in Soviet Transcarpathia and the Prešov Region of Slovakia, or *Lemko* in Poland. There are also Rusyns who have given up identifying with any East Slavic group, and instead associate with the dominant nationality of the country in which they live, such as Polish in Poland or Slovak in Slovakia. These changes in national self-designation have in some cases come gradually, prompted either by intellectual conviction or by national assimilation, especially among families of nationally-mixed parentage. In the latter case, children often choose to identify—or are identified by their parents—with the dominant state nationality, Slovak or Polish.

More often, however, the change in nomenclature has been the result of governmental decree in which the name *Rusyn* was banned from official usage, as was the case after 1945 in Soviet Transcarpathia and Poland and by the early 1950s in Czechoslovakia. The result is that today one can find within the same ethnolinguistic group, within the same village, in some cases even within the same family, people who will identify as a Rusyn, or a Lemko, or a Ukrainian, or a Slovak, or a Pole. Moreover, in the case of the East Slavic designations —*Rusyn/Rusnak*, *Lemko*, *Ukrainian*—some people consider these as synonyms, others as mutually-exclusive terms. In other words, some people will say that *Rusyn* is simply the older historic name for *Ukrainian*, and that *Lemko* is a regional name of *Ukrainian*, while others are convinced that the names *Lemko* or *Rusnak* are regional forms for *Rusyn* which, in turn, designates a people that is distinct from the Ukrainian and every other surrounding nationality.

It should be noted that the estimated figure of 1.2 million Rusyns given above refers to all people of the same linguistic and ethnographic origin, regardless of how they designate themselves on documents such as internal identity papers, passports, or decennial censuses. Our concern here will be primarily with the present-day Rusyn movement or with that portion of the group (the precise numbers are unknown) that considers Rusyns to comprise a distinct people.

Historical Background

It is neither possible nor appropriate to provide here an extensive outline of Rusyn history. It is necessary, however, to keep a few historical factors in mind in order to comprehend the current situation.

Rusyns never had their own state or political independence. Since the Middle Ages, the Rusyn homeland was ruled by Hungary and Poland or Austria. Nonetheless, during the past century and a half, they have at various times been recognized by neighboring or ruling states as having the right to a territorial entity whose existence was justified on the grounds that it was somehow of and for Rusyns and that it would have some degree of autonomy or self-rule. The first experience in this regard came in late 1849, when in the wake of the failure of the Hungarian revolution, the Austrian government divided Hungary into five military and several civil districts. One of the civil districts (Ungvár/Užhorod) was based in the Subcarpathian region and administered by local Rusyn political and cultural activists. This experiment was to last only a few months.

Much more important was the period of political upheaval that followed World War I. At that time, in an effort to retain Rusyn-inhabited lands within Hungary, the new government in Budapest created, in December 1918, an autonomous Rusyn Land (Rus'ka Krajina) that continued to function even after a pro-Soviet Communist regime came to power in March 1919. Simultaneously, the recently-founded Czechoslovak government was also courting the Rusyns, offering them a self-governing province to be called Rusinsko (Rusinia), or Subcarpathian Rus' (Podkarpatská Rus), if they would join the Czechs and Slovaks in their new state. In May 1919, the Rusyns accepted the Czechoslovak offer. Most significantly, the Rusyn issue had reached the international political forum, so that "the fullest degree of self-government" for "Ruthene territory south of the Carpathians" was guaranteed by two international treaties at the Paris Peace Conference (St. Germain-en-Laye, September 10, 1919, and Trianon, June 4, 1920) and by the Czechoslovak constitution (February 29, 1920).

For the next two decades the vast majority of Rusyns—approximately three-fourths the total number at the time—lived in Subcarpathian Rus, a territory that was Rusyn in name, that had its own Rusyn schools, and that had all the trappings of self-rule including a governor, a partially-elected diet, a national anthem, and a national theater. Finally, in late 1938, actual autonomy was granted to Subcarpathian Rus' (by then renamed Carpatho-Ukraine). Not only had autonomy been demanded by local politicians, it was also one of the provisions of the infamous Munich Pact, which led to the restructuring of Czechoslovakia. The Carpatho-Ukraine was to function for nearly half a year until the complete liquidation of what remained of Czechoslovakia in March 1939.

The twentieth century also witnessed three short-lived efforts at Rusyn independence. The first of these came in 1919, when after being unsuccessful in their bid to join fellow Rusyns south of the mountains, the Lemkos living in the former Austrian province of Galicia created an independent republic that functioned for sixteen months before its government was arrested in March 1920, by the authorities of Poland, which became the new ruler over Rusyn lands north of the Carpathians. At the same time, along the eastern edge of Subcarpathian territory a regional ethnic group known as Hutsuls established their own republic which lasted four months (February-June 1919) before being driven out by troops from Romania. The last unsuccessful attempt came two decades later, when the Carpatho-Ukrainian autonomous government declared symbolically its independence on the last day of Czechoslovakia's existence (March 15, 1939) before the province was invaded and reannexed to Hungary. The point is that although Rusyns may never have had their own state, they did have for a significant period of time in the twentieth century the experience—and therefore historical memory—of their own political entity, Subcarpathian Rus', which was recognized both by the state in which they lived (Czechoslovakia) and by the international community (Paris Peace Conference, League of Nations).

Although the Rusyn homeland is located in the geographical center of Europe, it is at the same time along a cultural borderland. It is along that great divide between the Catholic West and Orthodox East, what Riccardo Picchio has classified in the broadest cultural terms as *Slavia romana* and *Slavia orthodoxa*. Located where they are, this division has had a profound effect on the Rusyn psyche.

The very language or series of dialects that Rusyns speak reflect the influences of both cultural spheres. Thus, while their speech clearly belongs to the realm of East Slavic lan-

guages, much of their vocabulary, pronounciational stress, and even syntax is West Slavic.

The cultural divide is most graphically evident in what is for traditional Rusyn culture the all-important factor of religion. Some Rusyns are Orthodox, but the majority, at least during the past two centuries, is Catholic, or more precisely Greek Catholic. These confessional differences reflect a whole mind-set that is either western- or eastern-oriented. The eastern mind-set tends to surrender the self to fate in the hope that the Christian God and his intercessors, Christ and the Virgin Mary, might somehow alleviate the burdens of this earthly life. In contrast, the western mind-set seems to feel that if an individual receives education or political training, he or she can somehow put their lives in order and, therefore, be able to have some control over destiny.

The east-west dichotomy in the Rusyn psyche also impinges on attitudes toward national identity. The eastern orientation tends to think in universalistic terms and be satisfied with viewing Rusyns as part of a single East Slavic Orthodox religious and cultural world. The western orientation—epitomized by the very distinctiveness of Greek Catholics from other Catholics—accepts the idea of national and linguistic particularity. Universalism versus particularism are attitudes that greatly influenced Rusyn political and cultural leaders, especially regarding the nationality question.

Being a stateless people, Rusyns have had, at least until the second half of the twentieth century, to depend on their leaders, the intelligentsia, to determine the precise direction of their national revival. The Rusyn national revival began during the second half of the nineteenth century and culminated during the interwar years, by which time it had evolved into a comprehensive movement concerned with political, cultural, and social issues. Most of the nationalist intelligentsia did agree on one basic premise: that Rusyns are East Slavs and that their linguistic and cultural traditions were based in the east, albeit with pronounced western influences. What they could not agree upon, however, was whether Rusyns were a branch of the Russian nationality, or of the Ukrainian nationality, or whether they formed a distinct fourth East Slavic Rusyn nationality. Not surprisingly, debates about national and linguistic orientation quickly became caught up in local partisan politics. Politicians had their own agendas, and they more often than not made opportunistic use of the nationality question in order to promote party or other ideological interests.

As for the nationalist intelligentsia, they easily fulfilled the precepts of all activists in the formative stages of national movements. Namely, they had no difficulty using history to formulate an ideology that was able to convince people they were either Russian, Ukrainian, or Rusyn. The debate over the national orientation of the Rusyns was not yet resolved before the outbreak of World War II, despite the achievements during the interwar years of the Ukrainian orientation in the largest Rusyn territory, Subcarpathian Rus' (Carpatho-Ukraine).

In a sense, the year 1939 marked an end to the natural evolution of discussions about a Rusyn nationality. This is because beginning in that year and lasting for half a century, the nationality debate was effectively stifled by state intervention. This happened first under fascist regimes in Hungary (which reannexed Subcarpathian Rus'), in Slovakia (which retained the Prešov Region), and in the German-ruled Generalgouvernement (which ruled the Lemko Region); and then as a result of Soviet rule after 1945, whether directly in Subcarpathian Rus' (renamed Transcarpathian Ukraine) or through pro-Soviet Communist governments in Poland and Czechoslovakia. As is well known, the Communist era with

its anti-democratic approach to the nationality question was to last until the revolutions of 1989 and 1991. The only exception was the case of the small group of Rusyns in the Vojvodina region of Yugoslavia. Although a Communist regime was installed in their land as well, the Yugoslav government allowed the Vojvodinian Rusyns to decide their own national orientation.

This was not to be the case for the Rusyns living in the Carpathian homeland. In short, the Soviet regime declared that further debate was unnecessary because the nationality question had supposedly been resolved long ago. Based on a decision made by the Communist party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine taken in December 1925, all Rusyns, regardless what they may have called themselves, were declared to be Ukrainians. Any who opposed the Ukrainian viewpoint were accused of having "anti-historical" and, therefore, "anti-Soviet" opinions; they often were removed from their jobs; and they might even have been arrested as "counterrevolutionaries." Closely connected with these developments was the liquidation first in Soviet Transcarpathia (1949) and then in Czechoslovakia (1950) of the Greek Catholic Church, which by the mid-twentieth century had become the stronghold of the Rusyn orientation.

When Communist regimes were established in Poland (1945) and Czechoslovakia (1948), they adapted the Soviet line and decreed that the Rusyn minorities within their borders were Ukrainians. They forbade Rusyn publications and the use of the name Rusyn in official documents. The situation was particularly bad in Poland. Not only were the Lemko Rusyns declared to be Ukrainians, they were forcibly deported en masse from their Carpathian homeland in 1947 and scattered throughout the former German lands of post-1945 western and northern Poland.

It is ironic to note the advantages that accrued to the governments in question through their use—or, more properly, misuse—of the name Ukrainian. For example, by declaring that the population was Ukrainian, this allowed the Soviet Union to justify the annexation in 1945 of Subcarpathian Rus', a territory that throughout the war it had agreed should be returned to Czechoslovakia. Nationalist ideology could now conveniently serve Stalin's political designs on the international stage. In any case, how could the Soviet worker's state refuse the request of fellow "Ukrainian workers" in Transcarpathia who "voluntarily" were demanding to be united with the "Mother Ukraine"?

In neighboring Poland, identification of Lemkos as Ukrainians made it easier for the government to deport them, since the Communist Polish government argued that, as "Ukrainians," the Lemkos were helping the anti-Communist Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under Stepan Bandera, which was held up in the Carpathians and still fighting the Polish and Soviet authorities after the end of World War II. South of the mountains in Czechoslovakia, the administrative imposition of a Ukrainian identity beginning in 1952 proved to be advantageous to those Slovaks who had always claimed that "their Rusnaks" were really "Slovaks of the Greek Catholic faith." In essence, forced Ukrainianization (combined with the liquidation of the local Greek Catholic Church and forced collectivization of peasant land) led during the 1950s and 1960s to the most rapid degree of Slovakization and national assimilation that Rusyns had ever experienced. It is nonetheless true that during this same period, the Czechoslovak government provided extensive funding to create a wide range of cultural organizations that were Ukrainian in national form but socialist in content. A well-paid local Ukrainian intelligentsia was even able to attain several significant scholarly and literary achievements. However, this had

little real effect upon the Rusyn peasant masses in Slovakia. For them, the choice was simple: if one could not be a Rusyn, better declare oneself a Slovak than a Ukrainian (which among other things was associated with the hated East).

Once again Yugoslavia was the exception. The government there provided both funding and legal guarantees, while the local intelligentsia decided to adopt a Rusyn orientation and to develop the local speech into a sociologically-complete Rusyn literary language. In fact, Rusyns became one of the five official nationalities in the autonomous province of the Vojvodina.

Yet Yugoslavia was the exception that proved the rule. And the rule was that after 1945, Rusyns ceased to exist. All Soviet, Czechoslovak, and Polish documents and publications referred to the population only as Ukrainian. Publications in the West, both by Ukrainian émigré and North American Soviet and East European specialists, also accepted the view that Rusyns did not exist, or to quote the *New Columbia Encyclopedia* (1975): "There is no ethnic or linguistic distinction between Ukrainians and Ruthenians [Rusyns]." "The majority of the population [of Transcarpathia] is Ukrainian."

The Current Situation

Then came the 1980s. The first signs of change came in Poland, where the Lemko Rusyns—both those who were dispersed in the "West" of that country as well as about 10,000 who had managed to return to the Carpathian homeland—began to gather at annual cultural festivals. These "unofficial" festivals received no government financial support, but by the same token they were not under any ideological control. As a result, the Lemkos began to revive the idea that they were neither Poles nor Ukrainians, but rather part of a distinct Slavic people closely related to Rusyns living south of the mountains in Slovakia. The Lemkos seemed to be acting in isolation and for several years that was, indeed, the case.

Later came the changes brought about by the November 1989 Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia. New initiative committees were founded that were often dominated by individuals who had not been associated with the Communist regime. At first, the initiative committees tried to transform (they would say democratize) the older Ukrainian organizations, but when that failed they established their own Rusyn organizations and publications.

At the very same time, in neighboring Transcarpathia, the first Rusyn-oriented organization to exist anywhere in Carpathian Rus' since World War II was established in February 1990 in the oblast's administrative center of Užhorod. Known as the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns (Tovarystvo Karpats'kykh Rusyniv) and with branches throughout Transcarpathia, its goals were at first of a cultural and ecological nature—to promote and preserve knowledge of local history and customs. But before long, the Society moved on to political demands, in particular the recognition of Rusyns as a distinct nationality and the return of the autonomous status of Subcarpathian Rus', a status which they argued was illegally taken away in 1945.

Before 1990 came to a close, a total of five new Rusyn organizations had come into existence where Rusyns live. Aside from the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns in Ukrainian Transcarpathia were the Rusyn Renaissance Society (Rusyns'ka Obroda) in Medzilaborce, Czechoslovakia (est. March 1990); the Lemko Association (Stovaryšnja Lemkiv) in Legnica, Poland (est. April 1990); the Society of Friends of Subcarpathian Rus' (Spoločnosť priateľ

Podkarpatské Rusi) in Prague (est. October 1990); and the Ruska Matka (Rusyn Matka) in Ruski Kerestur, Yugoslavia (est. December 1990). By the spring of 1991, a sixth one was established, this time in Hungary: the Rusyn Organization in Hungary (Magyarországi Ruszinok Szervezete) in Budapest (est. May 1991). Most of these organizations have their own Rusyn-language newspaper or magazine, or they have access to existing publications. All five organizations have put forth basically the same demands: that Rusyns be recognized as a distinct nationality; that a Rusyn literary language be codified and eventually be used in schools as a medium of instruction; and that Rusyns be guaranteed full rights as a national minority in the countries where they live or, in the case of Transcarpathia, that Rusyns be recognized as the dominant indigenous nationality.

As in all new or revived movements, the Rusyn orientation must first be able to make itself known to the constituency it purports to represent. This is inherently problematic, because with the exception of Yugoslavia, nowhere do Rusyns control the local media. Their message, or at least an awareness of their movement's existence, has been helped less by their own publications than by the fierce polemics that have filled the non-Rusyn press in Poland, former Czechoslovakia, and most especially former Soviet Transcarpathia. This is because from the moment the first Rusyn activity began, local pro-Ukrainian activists attacked the Rusyn orientation as "anachronistic," "ahistorical," "unenlightened," "in the service of American imperialists," and "treacherous" to the Ukrainian nation. As a result, more attention of a semi-sensationalist journalistic nature was given the Rusyn problem than might otherwise have been the case. The Czech and Slovak press also paid much—although more rational—attention to the Rusyn-Ukrainian debate, especially in the context of the nationality question that concerned Czechoslovak society as a whole.

Whatever latent isolation Rusyn leaders in their respective countries may have still felt was overcome in March 1991, when, at the initiative of the Rusyn Renaissance Society, the first World Congress of Rusyns was convened in Medzilaborce, Czechoslovakia. Indeed, despite a history of interaction between Rusyn communities in the homeland as well as the immigration in America during the twentieth century, this was, in fact, the first time representatives from all countries where Rusyns live (Ukraine, Slovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, the United States) gathered together in one place. The congress constituted itself as a permanent umbrella organization, and its very existence had an enormous impact on instilling Rusyn national pride in the over 300 persons who attended, not to mention innumerable others who read about it through the generally widespread press coverage.

It is interesting to note that one week after the congress took place, Czechoslovakia conducted its decennial census in which people for the first time since World War II had the right to answer that they were of Rusyn nationality. Despite problems with the manner in which the nationality question was asked and subsequently classified, in Slovakia 17,000 persons responded they were Rusyns as compared to 14,000 Ukrainians. This raises the question of numbers. Observers will legitimately ask just how many people identify as Rusyns? And even among those who do respond Rusyn, does use of such a term necessarily mean they are denying a possible simultaneous identification as Ukrainians? At this point, there is no way to know the precise answers to those questions. All we know is that in Slovakia, when given a chance in March 1991, of those people of East Slavic background who did not identify as Slovak and who had the

choice between a Rusyn or Ukrainian identity, 55 percent chose Rusyn. As for the number of Rusyns in Poland and Ukrainian Transcarpathia, we simply do not know at this stage, nor do we have any indications—such as census data, scientific polling, or membership in political parties—that might help to provide a reasonable estimate.

What we can be certain of, however, is that after forty years of Communist rule, Rusyns have not gone away. Today, there are Rusyn organizations, Rusyn publications, and a relatively wide range of writers, teachers, professionals, and peasants who continue to articulate in the press and at public manifestations their belonging to a distinct Rusyn people.

Protection for Rusyns in the Future

As with many minorities, the future of their survival depends on the willingness of the governments in the states where they live to provide them with adequate legal protection and perhaps financial assistance for their national development. In this regard, the Rusyns need to inform and constantly to remind the international community that they exist. In turn, Rusyns should be able to expect that the international community will monitor their status and, if necessary, put pressure on the governments of Ukraine, Slovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia, in order to ensure that their national rights are protected.

In fact, all four states in which Rusyns live have already ratified several agreements pertaining to national minorities at recent meetings of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Of particular importance for Rusyns were the decisions reached in June 1990 at the Copenhagen meeting of the CSCE. At Copenhagen it was agreed that "to belong to a national minority is a matter of a person's individual choice and no disadvantage may arise from the exercise of such choice." Moreover, "persons belonging to national minorities can exercise and enjoy their rights individually as well as in community with other members of their group."

This means that regardless how scholars or governments might define Rusyns, if there are individuals and/or groups who call themselves by that name and who believe they constitute a distinct nationality, they have a right to do so and to be recognized as Rusyns by the governments of the countries in which they live. The Copenhagen agreement also recognized the role of non-governmental organizations in promoting the interests of national minorities, and it called on the participating states to assure that the teaching of history and culture in the educational establishments "will also take account of the history and culture of national minorities." At a follow-up CSCE meeting in Geneva (July 1991), member states accepted the provisions of a special report which guaranteed the right of national minorities to participate in non-governmental organizations outside their country of residence. The report reaffirmed as well the principle that individuals or organizations representing national minorities be allowed "unimpeded contacts . . . across frontiers . . . with persons with whom they share a common ethnic or national origin."

Finally, at the most recent CSCE meeting held in Moscow (September-October 1991), member states reaffirmed the agreements reached at all previous meetings and agreed further that "commitments undertaken in the field of the human dimension of the CSCE [including those pertaining to national minorities] are matters of direct legitimate concern to all participating States and do not belong exclusively to the internal affairs of the State concerned."

Before looking specifically at what Rusyns need in each country to protect and guarantee their future existence, it is necessary to clarify the issue of international boundaries. In the Carpathian homeland, Rusyns live within the borders of three states, and in the past two years there has been discussion in the Czech, Slovak, and Transcarpathian press that certain political activists are demanding the return of Ukraine's Transcarpathian oblast (historic Subcarpathian Rus') to Czechoslovakia. There has even been some talk that Transcarpathia might be returned to Hungary or divided between Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In fact, most of these propositions are little more than the speculations of individuals that have been blown out of proportion by political rivals and by journalists seeking to report a good story. The Czecho-Slovak federal government publicly declared that it "cannot be concerned with the fate" of Transcarpathia. And as for the Rusyn organizations that have come into existence in 1990, none of them nor the World Congress of Rusyns that met in 1991 has voiced any demand for border changes. On the contrary, all the new organizations as well as the vast majority of Rusyn spokespersons wherever they live warn against tampering with existing international boundaries.

On the other hand, the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns in Transcarpathia has called openly for the return of the status of autonomy that Subcarpathian Rus' did enjoy during the interwar years. In order to determine the views of the local population, the society, joined by other minority organizations, called for a question on Transcarpathian autonomy to be added to the referendum on Ukrainian independence that was held on December 1, 1991. There was a large voter turnout, with 92.6 percent favoring Ukrainian independence and 78 percent self-rule for Transcarpathia. The issue of Transcarpathian autonomy elicited great interest in neighboring countries, although this is, in fact, an internal issue for whatever kind of government and state structure is finally established in what until recently was the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. In short, Transcarpathia has been and should for the foreseeable future remain a part of Ukraine.

However, as a sovereign member of the international community, Ukraine must, in turn, guarantee the individual and corporate rights of Rusyns—or those citizens of Ukraine who wish to call themselves Rusyns. It is true that the Ukrainian government has already provided guarantees for national minorities living on its territory: Russians, Jews, Poles, Germans, Tatars, etc. To this list must be added Rusyns. This would mean that the "official," or one might say traditional, Ukrainian view of the Rusyns has to change. Namely, Ukrainian authorities must accept the fact that within its boundaries, primarily in its Transcarpathian oblast, there are people who define themselves as Rusyns in the sense of a nationality distinct from Ukrainians. Such people should have the right to declare themselves in their passports and internal documents as Rusyns, and the state census bureau should publish data on the number of persons who identify as Rusyns and not simply classify them—as has been done until now—as Ukrainians. If such guarantees are provided, there is no reason why Rusyns in Transcarpathia could not remain Rusyns as well as function as full-fledged citizens of a sovereign and democratic Ukrainian state. Indeed, independent Ukraine has recently become a member of the Conference in Security and Cooperation in Europe, which obliges it to accept and implement the principles of the Copenhagen and other agreements on national minorities outlined above.

Following the trend that has taken hold in the former Soviet Union, it would seem desirable that the new Ukrainian state become a decentralized entity in which each of its component regions would have a large degree of autonomy in

economic and cultural matters. Thus, questions such as what language might be taught in elementary schools, or what kind of national orientation should be adopted by regional cultural and educational institutions, or what amount of funding might be given to Rusyn-oriented groups, are all decisions that would be made by the people's assembly in Užhorod and not in Kiev. Of course, it goes without saying that the free movement of peoples across borders with neighboring Rusyn regions in Slovakia and Poland must be guaranteed. Fortunately, this possibility exists already, albeit with a waiting time at border crossings that every day of the week averages between 15 and 20 hours.

As for neighboring Slovakia, the situation of Rusyns, especially since the November 1989 Velvet Revolution, is much better than in either Ukrainian Transcarpathia or Poland. However, until now the Slovak government (generally through its Ministry of Culture) and the former Czecho-Slovak federal government (through allotment of discretionary funds) have provided only *ad hoc* grants to the new Rusyn organizations and publications. The normal budgetary allotments of the Slovak government intended for its East Slavic Rusyn/Ukrainian minority go to the Union of Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia (SRUČ), that is, to the Ukrainian-oriented cultural organization that is the direct descendant (still with largely the same leadership) as the formerly Communist-dominated Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers (KSUT). Slovak government funding through other ministries also supports in Prešov several Ukrainian university departments and institutes at Šafárik University, a Ukrainian radio station, and a Ukrainian publishing house, as well as the Museum of Ukrainian Culture (recently renamed the Aleksander Pavlovyč Regional Museum) in Svidník. Of the organizations receiving a normal budgetary allotment, only the Aleksander Duchnovyč Theater (formerly the Ukrainian National Theater) is of a Rusyn orientation.

The Slovak government must recognize that there are two clearly-defined national orientations—Rusyn and Ukrainian—and that if support for national minorities is to continue in Slovakia, then the authorities must provide funding for Rusyn as well as Ukrainian organizations. But how should the government divide a financial allotment among its East Slavic minority, which until recently has been designated only as Ukrainian? Initially, it would seem that the only reasonable way would be to accept the percentages revealed in the results of the 1991 census, which would mean 55 percent of the budget to Rusyn cultural organizations, schools, and the media, and 45 percent to Ukrainian cultural organizations, schools, and the media.

The question of schools in Slovakia is particularly problematic, because beginning in the 1960s the language of instruction in the vast majority of Rusyn-inhabited villages was changed—at the request of parents themselves—from Ukrainian to Slovak. Moreover, as part of a consolidation process during the past two decades, many small elementary schools in Rusyn-inhabited villages were closed. Even if private or public elementary schools will be reopened in Rusyn villages, it is likely that Slovak will be the language of instruction. However, the Slovak ministry of education must provide teachers and textbooks in Rusyn or in Ukrainian for those villages this may submit such requests. Most important, the standard Slovak-language history textbooks used throughout Slovakia should include an adequate discussion of the history and culture of Rusyns and other minorities which be of benefit to all students. This would be in keeping with the CSCE agreement in Copenhagen, which—along with "other international treaties of human rights and freedoms"—are, according to the new constitution

of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, "universally binding on its territory and supercede its own laws."

The Rusyns, or Lemko Rusyns of Poland perhaps need the most help. Not only is the majority of Lemko Rusyns scattered throughout the western and northern regions of Poland, but their fledgling pro-Rusyn organization, the Lemko Association with its amateur theatrical troupe, and the older Lemkovyna folk ensemble receive no financial support at all from the Polish government, either in the form of an annual budgetary allotment or *ad hoc* grants. Whatever government funds assigned to national minority cultural activity are given to the Union of Ukrainians in Poland (Ob'jednannja Ukrajinciv Pol'shči), the direct descendant of the Communist-dominated Ukrainian Socio-Cultural Society (USKT). Support for the new Union of Ukrainians must continue, especially since most Ukrainians in Poland are not originally from nor do they live in the Carpathian region. On the other hand, Lemko Rusyns must also be recognized as a distinct national minority and receive a fair share of funding.

How to determine what is a "fair share" will, of course, be difficult, since Poland does not even have nationality as a category on its decennial census questionnaires. Perhaps a referendum attached to the next national vote could include a question that lists all the national groups in Poland and asks the respondent to which one he/she would wish to assign a portion of their taxes for cultural activity. This would be somewhat similar to municipalities in Canada that ask their residents to indicate whether they want their tax dollars to be assigned to public schools or to private (Catholic) schools. Whatever the mechanism decided upon, in keeping with its commitments as a member state of the Conference on Security

and Cooperation in Europe, the Polish government is obliged to recognize Lemko Rusyns as a distinct national minority and to provide funding for Lemko cultural organizations and Lemko-language schools in those communities that demand them.

Lastly, we turn to the situation in Yugoslavia. Ever since World War II, the Yugoslav policy of equality for its six component republics and support for the national minorities that live within them has encouraged the Croatian Republic and, in particular, the Vojvodina Autonomous Region of the Serbian Republic to finance liberally Rusyn cultural and educational activity. It is to be expected that when the republics of Yugoslavia sort out their present difficulties, the republics of Croatia and, in particular, Serbia will continue their judicious support and protection of their respective Rusyn minorities.

Conclusion

The Rusyns are one example of the many groups who suffered under the totalitarian regimes imposed on East Central Europe during the past four decades. Now that those regimes no longer exist, there is a real opportunity to correct past injustices and to assure the future survival of the Rusyns. It is, after all, in the interest of all four countries where Rusyns live—Ukraine, Slovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia—to become part of the larger European community. The way in which those countries resolve the Rusyn issue will, in part, determine to what degree they are ready for membership in the new Europe.

Paul Robert Magocsi
Toronto, Ontario

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The Winter 1992 issue of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American* is notable not just because it marks the completion of fifteen years of publication, but because it gives us a glimpse of the complex situation our people always seem to find themselves in and the characteristic timidity with which we seem to face all challenges and opportunities.

In a reprint of a letter by Paul R. Magocsi to Bishop Losten of the Ukrainian Catholic church, we have what should be a blistering attack on Ukrainian Catholic chavinism and the nonfeasance of Greek Catholic leadership here and in Europe—but Magocsi's response turns out to be simply an exercise in academic and diplomatic politeness. It's a new world, Professor Magocsi, and you can stop pulling your punches.

From the clerical side, the Reverend Luke Mihaly talks all around the problems with and between our respective Greek Catholic and Orthodox churches. The blame is placed on outside forces, on the Rusyn people for not taking responsibility, and finally on the erosion of "... the trust that certainly once existed. . . ." But when did any trust exist? Tell it straight, Father Luke. The problem with our churches is that the bishops want to dance with everyone but the girl who brought them.

The most disturbing evidence of the timidity of those in whom our people have placed their trust comes, however, from Vasyľ Turok. You quote him as speaking as chairman of the Rusyn Renaissance Society and saying for all Rusyns in Slovakia, "Together with the Slovak people, we Rusyns wish to build our common republic without making any political demands." What kind of leadership is that?

If our people are to prosper in the new world we face, organizations such as the Rusyn Renaissance Society and its leaders had better be risk takers, staking out political positions

and making political demands in order to rally the Rusyn people to the cause of their own survival and renewal. Who is to lead the Rusyns in Slovakia if the Rusyn Renaissance Society stands on the sidelines—the church? History and contemporary events show that we cannot rely on our church leadership to serve anything but their own interests. They have shown themselves to be by and large enemies of the cause of Rusyn renewal here and in Slovakia. As for Ukraine, the jury is still out.

Our lay leaders, particularly in Europe, have to develop and manage issues and a political agenda which are both inspiring enough and broad based enough to rally Rusyns to the cause of their own survival. If Turok's words reflect the true feelings and aspirations of the Rusyn leadership in Slovakia, there is little to hope for from that quarter.

It seems that our Rusyn kin in Ukraine, as exemplified by inspiring spokespersons like Volodymyr Fedynyšynec', are the ones to look to for charting a Rusyn future. They are apparently the only ones courageous enough to stand up and speak the truth in no uncertain terms. Except in the academic world, effective American-Rusyn leadership is virtually nonexistent. In Slovakia, it appears that the agenda is to humbly eat the crumbs from the Slovak Roman Catholic table. In Transcarpathia, however, we have leaders who are willing to wade into the fray.

The business-as-usual attitude of Rusyn leadership in America and Slovakia means just that, business as usual—a long slow ride to nowhere. While the rallying cry in Užhorod seems to be, "Take no prisoners," here and in Slovakia it is, "The Meek Shall Inherit the Earth." History shows which approach wins out and where the latter has gotten us.

John Haluska
Fridley, Minnesota

INTERVIEW WITH SLOVAKIA'S AMBASSADOR

On March 1, 1992, the associate editor of the Carpatho-Rusyn American, Jerry Jumba, met with and interviewed Slovakia's new ambassador to the United States, Dr. Milan Erban, during the ambassador's visit to Pittsburgh.—Editor

JUMBA: Ambassador Erban, we American Rusyns are aware that since November 1989 the new Czecho-Slovak government had given very fair treatment to the Rusyns of the Prešov Region. Will the new minister of culture in Slovakia continue to support all the national minorities with the same budget?

ERBAN: Yes, that's true. The Rusyn people living in the territory of Slovakia have their own culture. They have their own theater and their own periodicals subsidized by the Slovak government. Of course, they also have their own school system—primary and secondary schools. There are not too many of those schools, but there are some.

JUMBA: Are Rusyns today recognized as a distinct national group?

ERBAN: Yes, they are.

JUMBA: I met Vasyľ Turok, Chairman of the Rusyn Renaissance Society (Rusyns'ka Obroda), in Prešov this summer and interviewed him. He expressed satisfaction with the status of the society's relationship with the new Slovak Republic. He sang high praises for the new regime, but he is also concerned to know: Will the Slovak government, through the Ministry of Education, provide funding for a department (*katedra*) of Rusyn language and literature at Šafárik University?

ERBAN: Such praise is warranted because when our prime minister was recently asked whether we see ethnic minorities as a problem, he replied that rather than a problem, he looks at them as one of the resources of the country.

JUMBA: Will Slovakia's state television and radio programs provide specific Rusyn programs in their studios?

ERBAN: They do provide such programs and will continue, although I'm not quite sure about the length of the broadcasting. It might be a couple of minutes a week. I'm not sure about the exact length.

JUMBA: In the United States, there are now Rusyn Americans who love to travel to Slovakia to see the homeland of their ancestors. Will the Slovak minister of culture encourage Rusyn-American tourists to spend their dollars in Slovakia?

ERBAN: Well, he certainly would, although I am not aware of his activity in this respect so far. But he certainly would enhance or encourage all people to come to Slovakia, because what my government wants to do is to transform Slovakia into an area or zone of prosperity and stability, to be able to attract as many tourists as possible of any ethnic origin, regardless whether or not they have roots in Slovakia.

JUMBA: Will the Slovak government continue its policy of changing village place names, specifically in Rusyn villages by dropping the adjectival prefix *Ruský/Ruská/Ruské*?

ERBAN: To be honest, I don't know of any tendency towards abolishing place names.

JUMBA: When will the Slovak government publish the full results of the 1991 census, in particular the information about the use of the mother tongue?

ERBAN: I don't see any reason why they shouldn't.

JUMBA: At the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center we get many calls from Rusyn Americans who want to tour the Prešov Region in Eastern Slovakia, the Lemko Region in Poland, and Transcarpathia in Ukraine. We give many references to the Prešov Region, but those tourists have said that on previous tours they had Czech guides and in some cases Slovak guides who could not give them any information about Rusyns, and so they were disappointed. Can something be done to enhance Rusyn monuments and points of historical interest to attract these Rusyn-American tourists?

ERBAN: I imagine that something can be done, and if you can talk to our embassy directly we could try to be instrumental in this respect.

JUMBA: Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador.

UPCOMING EVENTS

Miková, Slovakia. The town hall of Miková, in cooperation with the Svidník branch of the Rusyn Renaissance Society, will hold its Second Annual Festival of Carpatho-Rusyn Culture. Miková, which is located half way between Medzilaborce and Svidník in northeastern Slovakia, is the native village of Andy Warhol's parents. Aside from performances by traditional Rusyn folk ensembles, there will be an exhibit of paintings by Paul Warhola of Pittsburgh. For further information, contact: Andy Warhol Pop Art Club, Goldbergera M-15, 089 01 Svidník, SLOVAKIA.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The Czechoslovak Genealogical Society International in conjunction with the National Czech and Slovak Museum and Library is sponsoring its Third Genealogical/Cultural Conference October 28-31, 1993. The conference includes sessions on genealogical research, reasons for emigration, history, language, music, traditions and customs, travel, and folkcrafts, as well as an open house at the museum. For further information contact: The Czechoslovak Genealogical Society International, P.O. Box 16225, St. Paul, Minnesota 55116-0225 or the Czech and Slovak Museum and Library, P.O. Box 5398, Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52406-5398.

Yonkers, New York. On June 20, 1993, a group of Rusyns, most of them recent immigrants in their 20s and 30s, met at the Lemko Hall in Yonkers to discuss the possibility of founding a new Rusyn community organization. The proposed new community organization would be nondenominational and act as a grassroots complement to the more scholarly oriented Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center.

A second meeting is tentatively scheduled for late August, at which the constitution, by-laws, and name of the organization will be discussed. The group welcomes inquiries from anyone interested in participating. For further information, please contact:

Bogdan Horbal
76 East 7th Street, Apt. 34
New York, New York 10003
tel. 212-260-7463

OUR FRONT COVER

Cartoon by Fedor Vico from the Rusyn-language newspaper, *Narodný novynký*, drawn for the opening of the Second World Congress of Rusyns in May 1993. Interviewer asks: "And who are you representing at this World Congress of Rusyns?" "Me, I'm a delegate from our Rusyn step-motherland."

RECENT EVENTS

Krynica, Poland. On May 22-23, 1993, the Second World Congress of Rusyns took place in Krynica, a resort and spa located high in the Carpathian Mountains within Poland's Lemko Region. Hosted by the Society of Lemkos (Stovaryšnja Lemkiv), the focus of the two-day congress was the present and future status of Rusyn culture and scholarship.

Although attendance was limited, as many as 125 to 150 delegates, observers, and media filled the auditorium of Krynica's main spa center (Pijalnia Glówna) to hear reports by the representatives of each national delegation as well as statements and greetings from other delegates and guests. The heads of each delegation included: Vasyľ Sočka, vice-chairman, Society of Carpatho-Rusyns (Obščestvo Karpatskych Rusynov), Ukraine; Vasyľ Turok, chairman, Rusyn Renaissance Society (Rusyns'ka Obroda), Slovakia; Dr. Paul Robert Magocsi, president, Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, United States; Andrij Kopča, chairman, Society of Lemkos (Stovaryšnja Lemkiv), Poland; Natalja Dudaš, vice-chairman, Ruska Matka Society, Yugoslavia; and Gábor Hattinger, chairman; Organization of Rusyns in Hungary (Organizacja Rusinom u Madjarsku). The heads of the national delegations comprise together the permanent interregional committee of the World Congress, which is headed by Vasyľ Turok. At the Second World Congress, the Organization of Rusyns in Hungary was added to the interregional committee for which Mr. Turok was re-elected chairman for another two-year term.

Most of the reports and statements discussed the many achievements of Rusyns in each country during the past two years, most especially the establishment of several new cultural and scholarly organizations and Rusyn-language pub-

lications. Other issues included concerns voiced by delegates from Ukraine, where the question of autonomy for Transcarpathia and the legal status of Rusyns as a distinct nationality remain unresolved. The delegates from Yugoslavia reported on the serious problems their community faces as a result of the war in their country.

Delegates and guests were also treated to several cultural performances. On the first night, the professional Aleksander Duchnovyč Theater from Prešov performed in Rusyn a revised version of Duchnovyč's nineteenth-century play, "Virtue is More Precious than Riches" (*Dobrodítel' prevyšajet bohatstvo*). On the second evening, the amateur Lemko theater from Legnica, Poland performed excerpts from Andrij Kopča's new play written specially for the congress, "The Last Hour" (*Poslidnja hodyna*), a moving tale about the forced deportations of Lemkos from their homeland in 1947. The congress ended with a spirited performance outdoors by PUL'S, the professional Rusyn folk ensemble from the Duchnovyč Theater in Prešov. Under a beautiful late afternoon sky, which drew hundreds of delegates and spa visitors, the Lemko poet Petro Trochanovskij concluded by thanking PUL'S for all they have done, most especially during the past two years, to promote the reputation of Rusyn folk culture throughout the Carpathian region and abroad.

The Second World Congress issued a resolution outlining its goals during the next two years as well as a statement of concerns regarding the present status of Rusyns worldwide. The full texts of these two documents will appear in the next issue of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*. It was also decided that the Third World Congress of Rusyns will take place in Ruski Kerestur, Yugoslavia, in 1995, to coincide with the 250th anniversary of the Rusyn settlement of the Bačka/Vojvodina.

SINCE THE REVOLUTION OF 1989

Prešov, Slovakia. In December 1992, the first issue of a new periodical, *Holos Karpat* (Voice of the Carpathians), appeared in Prešov for the Rusyn population living in northeastern Slovakia. It is the official organ of the Aleksander Duchnovyč Society (Obščestvo/Tovarystvo im. O.V. Duchnovyča), the interwar cultural organization that was renewed in 1991 (see the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, Vol. XV, No. 3, Autumn 1992, p. 9). The newspaper is edited by Dr. Mychajlo Ryčalka, who is also chairman of the society.

The first issue of *Holos Karpat* includes the text of the official statute of the Duchnovyč Society, whose goals include "bringing together members of the Rusyn, Ukrainian, and Russian nationalities," in order "to develop the national identity of Rusyns in Slovakia and abroad" and "to stimulate appreciation for their native language." The statute does not state what is the "native language" of Rusyns; moreover, the first and subsequent issues of *Holos Karpat* are published in literary Ukrainian. Those interested in obtaining this Ukrainian-language newspaper may write to: Společnost A. Duchnoviča, Hlavná 62, 080 01 Prešov, SLOVAKIA.

Bielanka, Poland. The Hospodar Rusyn Democratic Circle of Lemkos in Poland was established in the Lemko Region in 1991. Its specific goal is to lobby the Polish government in an effort to have property returned to Lemkos who were forcibly evacuated from their homes during the so-called "Vistula Action" in the spring of 1947. The Hospodar Rusyn Democratic Circle is headed by the Lemko activist, Pavlo Stefanovskij, who in January 1993 started a new Lemko Rusyn-language bulletin called *Lemko*. The first two issues of the bulletin contain primarily correspondence with the Polish government regarding property claims and with of-

ficials of the Ukrainian government regarding the question of national identity.

In a letter to Ukraine's ambassador to Poland, dated March 27, 1993, Hospodar's chairman Stefanovskij writes: "Following the political storms that have rocked Poland and Czechoslovakia, the return to Rusynism is a natural phenomenon, not some kind of political Rusynism or artificial separatism. The return to traditional Rusynism is the only natural means to save our region and its greatest cultural riches in all their purity." Those interested in obtaining this Lemko-Rusyn language publication should write to: Redakcija Lemko, Bielanka 4, 38-311 Szymbark, POLAND.

A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Heritage

THE CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN

The *Carpatho-Rusyn American* (ISSN 0749-9213) is a quarterly publication of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center Inc., a non-profit cultural organization whose purpose is to promote knowledge about all aspects of Carpatho-Rusyn culture through the publication and distribution of scholarly and educational material about the Carpatho-Rusyn heritage in Europe and America.

General inquiries concerning the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, and all communications concerning this publication, should be directed to:

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132 Hawthorne Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15218
Phone: 412-371-3823

Patricia A. Krafcik, Editor
Annual Subscription is \$12.00



Carpatho-Rusyn American
132 Hawthorne Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15218

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A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage

Федор Віцо / ІЛЬКО СОВА З БАЮСОВА



Until recently we were still Ukrainian workers... And now what are we [since the 1989 revolution]? Unemployed Rusnaks!

FROM THE EDITOR

Recently I made the acquaintance of a remarkable woman, Dr. Amalija Novak Fairbanks, honorary chairperson of the Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund. Dr. Fairbanks graciously shared with me her own history which helps elucidate her dedication to this position. She was born in Kocur (Serbian: Kucura), a Rusyn town in the heart of the Vojvodina (Bačka) Region of Yugoslavia. It was there that she grew up steeped in Rusyn culture and speaking Rusyn. Unlike other countries in which Rusyns reside, Yugoslavia's Rusyns had the opportunity to receive schooling in Rusyn, and Dr. Fairbanks recalls with fondness the eight years during which she attended Rusyn elementary school. All subjects were taught in Rusyn. Poetry was read and memorized in Rusyn—poetry which touched her heart and which she still holds dear today. Her early education was demanding, and for this she is grateful because it prepared her well for her future career.

Dr. Fairbanks came to the United States when she was twenty four years old. She married an American who worked for the United Nations. When he was on assignment in the Far East, she returned home for a time to her family in Yugoslavia and spent five years in medical school in Belgrade. Today she is engaged in family practice in Birmingham, Alabama and is also studying toward a speciality in geriatric medicine.

Dr. Fairbanks stressed to me that striving for accomplishment and fulfillment was always important in her experience—but not just as an end in itself. Caring for people is the special task for which she prepared herself, a theme which runs strongly through her life and career. All down the line, from her work in family practice to her present studies in geriatrics and now to her activity in the Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund, Dr. Fairbanks manifests the call to caring. Education, she insisted to me, is the key to growth, to broadening one's horizons, to raising oneself up, to contributing to one's own people and to the world. If we care about others, we must concern ourselves with providing opportunities for their education. The recent establishment of the Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund is a way for all of us to participate in showing our care.

That anyone might have thought Rusyns do not exist or are not a distinct people amuses Dr. Fairbanks. "But of course, Rusyns were always there and they maintained their language," she asserts. "Only now they have the opportunity to blossom, to exhibit openly their renewed determination to be recognized." In connection with this, the teaching of Rusyn language and general academic instruction in Rusyn is essential. "We are the ones with the means, however great or humble, to contribute to this endeavor so that Rusyn children can have the same access as others to modern equipment—computers, photocopy machines, VCRs—to enhance their educational experience," she added. Rusyn young people must also study other languages, especially English, she believes, so that they can communicate freely with others, travel abroad, continue to grow and to be able, in turn, to help their brothers and sisters.

Excerpts from the following letter outline further Dr. Fairbanks' motivation for accepting the position of honorary chairperson of the Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund.

Dear Rusyns and all Americans and Canadians of Rusyn Heritage!

For 250 years the Vojvodinian Rusyns of Yugoslavia have preserved their distinct national culture.... We are thankful

that our forebears knew how to preserve the Rusyn culture. Our parents taught us how to respect the name Rusyn and to maintain a deep faith in our ancestors. From grandparents to parents and from parents to children we have learned that it is our duty to look after our own kind.

It is in young people, the descendants of Rusyns, that our future lies. That is why we must care for our young people. We Americans and Canadians could really help our homeland if we gave young Rusyns better opportunities for education.

In cooperation with the Ruska Matka Society in Ruski Kerestur, the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center in the United States has begun a significant undertaking with the creation of a Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund. With the income from this fund the Rusyn Matka Society will be able to purchase modern equipment for the production of Rusyn schoolbooks and similar equipment for Rusyn cultural organizations. We would also like to award two scholarships each year. One scholarship would be for a young Rusyn student to study wherever he or she pleases. The other would be for the best student to study at the Department of Rusyn Language and Literature at the University of Novi Sad. The fund could also cover the costs of an instructor from the United States or Canada to teach Rusyn children English at a summer program in Ruski Kerestur.

At the request of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center I have accepted the responsibility of becoming the honorary chairperson of the Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund. I am proud to be an American of Rusyn origin. Each year I will donate \$1000 to the fund, so that these monies can be used for Rusyn young people and, therefore, for the future of all our people. I call on you, Americans and Canadians, to help our Rusyn young people. With a donation of at least \$50 to the Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund, each of us will be paying back in part what our Rusyn ancestors and parents have given us. We must realize that the future of Rusyns depends to a large degree on us.

Amalija Novak Fairbanks, M.D.

YUGOSLAV RUSYN YOUTH FUND

Appreciation is extended to the following individuals who as of October 1, 1993 donated generously to the Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund. Aside from those below we received four anonymous donations of \$60.00 each, all from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Thomas J. Draus, Hazel Green, Wisconsin—\$50
Dr. Amalija N. Fairbanks, Birmingham, Alabama—\$1,000
Mr. and Mrs. John M. Gvozdjak, Sterling, Illinois—\$50
Stephen S. Stack, Chicago, Illinois—\$100
Anonymous in honor of Father Vladimir Vancik—\$100

Further donations of \$50 or more may be sent to:

Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund
Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, Inc.
Box 131-B
Orwell, VT 05670

OUR FRONT COVER

Cartoon by Fedor Vico from the Rusyn-language newspaper, *Narodný noviny*, (Prešov), September 29, 1993.

SYL'VESTER SEMBRATOVYČ (1836-1898)

In 1893, when he succeeded his uncle Josyf as metropolitan, Syl'vester Sembratovyč became the second priest in his family who within one generation reached the highest position in the Greek Catholic Church of Galicia. Syl'vester was born in 1836, in the Lemko Region Carpatho-Rusyn village of Desznica (Rusyn: Došnycja), at the time part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and today within the borders of far southeastern Poland. His father was the local Greek Catholic priest, and because of the position of his distinguished uncle, Syl'vester was able to receive an excellent education at seminaries in Przemyśl, Vienna, and Rome.

His uncle also helped the young priest Syl'vester after his consecration. Beginning in 1864, he lectured at the University of L'viv, where within five years he was appointed professor of dogmatics and theology. His career as a professor was to last only a decade, however, because in 1878 he was nominated auxiliary bishop in the eparchy of L'viv. This new closeness to his uncle led to friction because Syl'vester, as a sympathizer of the populist Ukrainian national movement, opposed Metropolitan Josyf Sembratovyč's support for the Old Ruthenian national orientation. It was those sympathies which, in fact, led to Metropolitan Josyf's forced resignation in 1880. Three years later, his nephew Syl'vester Sembratovyč was appointed the new Greek Catholic metropolitan of Galicia.

As metropolitan, Syl'vester Sembratovyč turned to the reform of his church's internal structure as well as its relations with secular authorities at the Galician provincial and Austrian imperial levels. He also was responsible for organizing the provincial synod (bishop's council) of 1888, which was the most important event in the history of Galicia's Greek Catholic Church. The synod succeeded in codifying the liturgical and organizational life of the Galician metropolitanate. Despite these achievements, Sembratovyč was unable to have his proposals for required celibacy of priests approved.

As for relations with secular society, Syl'vester Sembratovyč was best known for his efforts to implement a program of political cooperation with Poles which was known in Galicia during the 1890s as the New Era. The basic idea of the program was acceptance of the Ukrainian national orientation by both the state's administration and the Greek Catholic Church. The goal was to counteract Russophile and Orthodox influences coming from the other side of Galicia's border with the Russian Empire. To achieve his goals, Sembratovyč removed several priests of Russophile and Old Ruthenian national orientation from their posts in the church administration, and he introduced the Ukrainian language together with its modern (etymological) alphabet into the church's official publications and schools. The metropolitan's actions were opposed by both leftist radicals and Russophiles. A student demonstration in 1893 at the Vienna railway station—during which the metropolitan was pelted with eggs—was among the more extreme forms of protest taken by the opposition. On the other hand, his policies were welcomed by Galicia's Ukrainophiles, the Austrian imperial government, and the Vatican.

Although the New Era of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation in Galicia soon came to an end, Sembratovyč's policies did help the Ukrainian national program gain popularity among



Galician's Greek Catholic priests and peasants. It seems that Sembratovyč was obligated to support such an approach in order to defend his church from the influences of Russian Orthodoxy which continued to increase during the last decades of the nineteenth century. The metropolitan was also responsible for helping to protect the religious interests of Galician Rusyn and Ukrainian immigrants in the New World, for promoting Catholic missions in Galicia among believers of Mosaic law (Jews), for supporting the creation of the first Ruthenian insurance company in Galicia (Dnister), for the foundation of an educational institution for girls in L'viv (Ruskij Divočyj Instytut), and for the reorganization of seminary education, including support for the establishment in 1897 of a Greek Catholic seminary (Collegia Rutheno) in Rome. In recognition of his work in stabilizing church conditions in Galicia, in 1895 Pope Leo XIII appointed Sembratovyč to the post of cardinal, which second to the Pope is the highest office in the Catholic Church.

Although Syl'vester Cardinal Sembratovyč lived for most of his life far from his birthplace, he nonetheless retained a sentimental attachment to the Lemko Region. He provided financial assistance for the reconstruction of the church in his native village and, until his death from cancer in 1898, he never lost his Lemko-Rusyn accent. Nonetheless, because of his sympathies toward the Ukrainian national orientation and his opposition to the Old Ruthenians and Russophiles, he never reached the level of popularity among Lemkos that his uncle and hierarchal predecessor enjoyed.

Andrzej Zięba
Cracow, Poland

COMMENTARIES ON PAUL R. MAGOCSI'S "CARPATHO-RUSYNS: THEIR CURRENT STATUS AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES"

The following are two of three commentaries to be published about Paul R. Magocsi's report, "Carpatho-Rusyns: Their Current Status and Future Perspectives," which appeared in the last issue of the Carpatho-Rusyn American, Vol. XVI, No. 2, Summer 1993, pp. 4-9. The commentaries in this issue are by Dr. Ľudovít Haraksim, member of the Historical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and advisor to the government of Slovakia on nationality issues; and by Dr. Mykola Mušynka, professor of ethnography at Šafárik University in Prešov, Slovakia, and Ukrainian activist. The next issue of the Carpatho-Rusyn American will include a commentary by Dr. Andrzej Zięba of Jagiellonian University in Poland and a response to all three by Professor Magocsi. — Editor

OBSERVATIONS ON PAUL R. MAGOCSI'S STATUS REPORT

I would like to begin my remarks on Dr. Magocsi's status report with a caveat. The residents of the small Slovak village of Krahule, not far from Kremnica, would strongly object to the statement that Magocsi does not consider their village, or more precisely the spot where their church has stood from time immemorial, as the geographical center of old Europe. Rather, he identifies Europe's center at a point several hundred kilometers to the east, not far from the village of Dilove on the territory of Subcarpathian Rus', today's Transcarpathian oblast of Ukraine. Nor would residents of Krahule be convinced by his argument that nineteenth-century Hungarian scholars determined the center to be near Dilove and that about one hundred years later Soviet scholars reconfirmed this. Against his argument Krahule's residents would state that in their case it was also scholars who determined that their village was the center of Europe. To the Hungarian and Soviet scholars they would address several irreverent remarks. In such a vigorous manner they would end the discussion and would continue to recognize their native Krahule as Europe's center.

Obviously, the point of Magocsi's report is not to inform the world that the geographical center of Europe is located on Rusyn territory. It is rather to provide basic information about Rusyns, particularly about the present Rusyn movement and to call attention to the fact that in the very center of Europe there is a small nation—and Magocsi considers the Rusyns clearly a small nation—which is striving for emancipation and whose efforts toward this end must be supported. This is not the first time that Magocsi has aired his views. He has published his opinions previously in several studies and articulated them at numerous international conferences which have dealt with nationality or minority questions. Magocsi's views have not been accepted by Ukrainians or by those Rusyns who identify themselves as Ukrainians. For them, Rusyns are not a distinct people, but an integral part of the Ukrainian nation. Therefore, they reject any and every effort which could contribute to the emancipation of Rusyns as a distinct national group.

Not only Ukrainians in Ukraine, but also the Ukrainian community in the West agree on this. Both reject Magocsi's views and refer to him with not particularly witty epithets, such as "the creator of new nations," "awakener of a downtrodden people" (that is, Rusyns), "the ideologist of

neo-Rusynism," that is, "an ideologist of political Rusynism," "a new Miklucha-Maklaj" [discoverer of primitive peoples], and so on. Those who do not consider Rusyns to be Ukrainians, but to be a distinct people, relate to his opinions in a totally different way. And there are more than a few who adhere to this point of view. Among them are a significant segment of the population in Subcarpathian Rus', most Rusyns in Slovakia, and the great majority of Rusyn immigrants and their descendants in the United States and Canada. If Magocsi did not continue to find support and assistance among these Rusyns, his efforts would otherwise be considered a naive quixotic venture.

It should be remembered that Magocsi also considers Galician Lemkos as Rusyns, as well as Vojvodinian Greek Catholic Rusyns who brought into their new homeland the Zemplín dialect which they speak to this day. It is obvious that Magocsi perceives the Rusyn people as a rather heterogeneous group, whose unity is based only on an awareness of a common origin and an affinity of dialects. The unity of a national group, however, and the cohesion of its members is created by their living together in a single political body which is not the case for Rusyns. The strongest bonds arose only among the Subcarpathian Rusyns in the Prešov Region of Eastern Slovakia and in the former Subcarpathian Rus', whose territory until 1918 was located within Hungary and then for two decades within the Czechoslovak state. Such bonds did not exist between the Subcarpathian Rusyns and neighboring Lemkos north of the mountains, let alone with the distant enclave of Rusyns in the Vojvodina. We also need to recall that the bonds between Rusyns living south of the Carpathians in the Prešov Region and those farther east in Subcarpathian Rus' have weakened during the last half century of separation, and much will depend on whether these bonds can be strengthened.

In connection with his emancipation efforts for Rusyns, Magocsi asserts that the countries within which Rusyns have lived granted them in various periods "the right to a territorial entity," that is to a definite degree of autonomy and self-rule. He draws the conclusion that the states within which Rusyns live at present ought to recognize the same right. This includes Ukraine, which in addition should recognize Rusyns as a distinct people. Not all of Magocsi's examples are convincing. The conclusion he reaches, however, is important, in that he does not propose that an independent Rusyn state be created from "Rusyn lands," which would change the map of central Europe. It should be mentioned, however, that his information about the circumstances surrounding the annexation of Subcarpathian Rus' to Czechoslovakia in 1919 is treated with such brevity that its accuracy suffers.

Magocsi's observation about the dichotomy of the Rusyn mentality is interesting, but it seems to me that this psychological disposition is not limited to Rusyns and one ought not use it to explain either their groping about for a national orientation or the many inconsistencies in their political activity. Rather, one ought to take into account concrete social and political conditions within which Rusyn society developed. Much that happened to Rusyns over the centuries happened by the will of more powerful forces outside of Rusyn control. As Magocsi demonstrates in his report, Rusyns have not had a say even in defining their own national identity. It is also interesting that in this article Magocsi does not explain why he considers Rusyns distinct from Ukrainians, that is, why the Rusyns did not evolve naturally into a unified body with Ukrainians.

In the first part of the report (the second part concerns

itself with the present situation of Rusyns and their preservation in the future), Magocsi introduces information which relates to Slovakia and which needs to be supplemented and rendered more precisely. One example is his information about the number of Rusyns living in Eastern Slovakia. Magocsi declares that there are 130,000 Rusyns living in Eastern Slovakia. This is more than four times the number which was recorded in the census in Slovakia in 1991, which concluded that there are 16,937 Rusyns and 13,847 Ukrainians. He reaches his number of Rusyns in Eastern Slovakia by estimation, in a way similar to how he determined the total number of Rusyns, and without taking into account "how they are recorded in official documents, whether in individual identity cards or census statistics." His information is not accurate and portrays Slovaks as brutal assimilators. The fact is that such a number did not even exist in the 1930 census, that is, before the period when Slovakia's Rusyn population was afflicted with such disasters as: World War II casualties; the voluntary resettlement of a segment of the Rusyn population to the Soviet Ukraine (around 12,000); emigration to the Czech lands for work (around 20,000); denationalization provoked by the destruction of the Greek Catholic church and the introduction of Orthodoxy; and especially before the so-called ukrainianization, when 118,400 individuals in Eastern Slovakia identified as Rusyn (Russian and Little Russian). It is true that the latter number also included a portion of Greek Catholic Slovaks who identified as Rusyns simply because they were members of the so-called "Rusyn faith," which the Greek Catholic church was considered to be. After becoming aware of their true nationality, these Slovaks began to identify themselves as Slovaks, which is what they in fact were by origin, even though they remained Greek Catholic. The forced conversion of Greek Catholics to Orthodoxy and later the ukrainianization of the Rusyn population prompted Rusyns to denounce their nationality and identify with Slovaks. They did not want suddenly to become Orthodox and Ukrainian like [Czechoslovakia's] totalitarian regime demanded.

They reached such a decision out of fear that as Ukrainians they could be sent to the Soviet Union, or that their village could be annexed to the Soviet Union, something they absolutely did not desire. By the beginning of the 1950s, most of the Rusyns of Eastern Slovakia had lost whatever illusions they may have had about living conditions in the Soviet Union and were rather well informed also about the difficult fate of their fellow countrymen who had voluntarily opted for resettlement in the Soviet Union. Propaganda which may have affirmed a positive experience on the part of those who had gone East no longer confused those Rusyns who remained in Slovakia.

All the above-mentioned circumstances contributed to a process whereby many Rusyns changed their national identity to Slovak, which became evident from a decrease in their population in Eastern Slovakia. But this "most intense slovakization and national assimilation which the Rusyns experienced" was, according to Magocsi, not premeditated. No one tried to assimilate Rusyns in Slovakia after 1945. In any case, this would not have been possible in view of the positions which Rusyns, as is well known, held at that time whether in the East Slovak regional administration, in the central party and state organs of Slovakia, or after 1968 in the federal government. The assimilation of Rusyns, moreover, took place not only in Slovakia, but also in the Czech lands. From about 20,000 Ukrainians in 1961 (Rusyns at that time did not exist legally), there were in 1991 only

8,500 (1711 Rusyns and 6807 Ukrainians)—that is, fewer than half the original number. Their national assimilation is also attributed to Slovaks, although in the Czech lands one can hardly speak of slovakization even if the majority of them came from Eastern Slovakia.

Assimilation, that is, the slovakization of Rusyns in Eastern Slovakia, is a favorite and frequent topic among Ukrainians. It is discussed and written about in Ukraine and in the Ukrainian community in the West, but without any consideration of the circumstances which provoked this process. Beyond the borders of Slovakia nothing is known about these circumstances, and as a rule explanations of the so-called slovakization of Rusyns which "experts" of Rusyn origin from Eastern Slovakia present are accepted at face value. Quite often these "experts" have neither a sense of responsibility for the facts and information they distribute, nor even a basic accuracy. For instance, not long ago a certain associate professor of Ukrainian literature [at Šafárik University] in Prešov announced that in Eastern Slovakia during the interwar period there were about 250,000 "Rusyn-Ukrainians." Actually, this was approximately the number of all the Greek Catholics living in Slovakia, both Greek Catholic Rusyns and Slovaks. When this figure is compared with the number of Rusyns in 1961, which according to the population census included 35,000 Ukrainians (Rusyn nationality was not registered at that time), one gets the impression from the "experts" that Slovaks committed the greatest genocide anywhere in Europe since World War II. The fact that a small nation such as the Slovaks could hardly have swallowed up such an enormous number of people in a period of some twenty years occurred to very few.

A number of Ukrainians abroad customarily accept similar kinds of information without question. They refuse, however, to accept the fact that during the twentieth century in Eastern Slovakia a process of ethnic differentiation took place whereby ethnic Slovaks left what had been considered a single Rusyn population. It is also difficult for many Ukrainians to accept the fact that ukrainianization is responsible for the greatest decrease in the number of ethnic Rusyns. Even Magocsi underestimates this process of ethnic differentiation and views the identification of Greek Catholic Slovaks with their Slovak nationality as an indication of assimilation among Greek Catholic Rusyns.

The reason for this misunderstanding is that the Ukrainian public is unable to accept the well-known fact that in the Carpathian Basin Rusyns were not the only Greek Catholics (previously Orthodox), and that one cannot automatically consider every Slovak or Hungarian Greek Catholic to be a denationalized Rusyn, even when he designates himself as a "Rusnak" or an adherent to the "Rusyn faith." In Eastern Slovakia residents of some Slovak villages call themselves Rusnaks, yet we know that their ancestors were Lutherans who accepted the Greek Catholic faith under the pressure of recatholicization. The "Rusyn faith," which many adopted "under pressure," used Church Slavonic in the liturgy and in particular allowed for a married priesthood, factors which made Greek Catholicism more attractive than Roman Catholicism. Many preferred the Greek Catholic faith over Roman Catholicism. In this sense, then, the Prešov Greek Catholic eparchy and a majority of its clergy considered themselves "Rusyn." Publicly the eparchy conducted itself as if it were Rusyn, although among the faithful there were not only Rusyns. The Greek Catholic clergy also seemed largely Rusyn and inculcated a Rusyn consciousness in its faithful, even in those who were not ethnic Rusyns.

Magocsi does not examine these facts sufficiently, and in his status report insists that the Greek Catholic church be characterized as the "bastion of Rusynism." At the present time the Greek Catholic church does not fulfil such a function and attempts to serve equally its Rusyn and Slovak faithful. The Ukrainians now criticize the church, saying that in Eastern Slovakia it aids in the national assimilation of Rusyns, that is Ukrainians.

Particularly interesting is the last part of Magocsi's status report in which he speaks about the preservation of Rusyns and about what needs to be done in order to ensure the survival of this small central European people in the future. In that regard, he considers that world opinion ought to develop an interest in the Rusyn situation. World opinion could then ensure that the Rusyns' national rights are protected and, if necessary, could exert pressure on the governments in those countries where Rusyns live. In this part of his report, Magocsi refers to the Copenhagen document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in which he finds arguments supporting the Rusyns' emancipation efforts. He also refers to the document from the Moscow Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in connection with the notion that minority affairs are the concern not only of a particular state, but that other participants in the Helsinki process have the right to intervene in minority questions in any state. According to Magocsi, these principles must also be accepted by Ukraine if it wants to be part of the Helsinki process.

In this part of his report, Magocsi deals with the situation of Rusyns in the various countries in which they live and argues that at present their situation is best in Slovakia. This is not the only conclusion in the report which sounds a positive note in Slovakia's favor. Earlier, in connection with ukrainianization in Eastern Slovakia, he stated that at the time when such developments began, Rusyns (then designated as Ukrainians) were given various kinds of support for their culture and cultural institutions, and that a "well-paid Ukrainian intelligentsia" attained at that time several significant scholarly and literary achievements. True, Magocsi adds that the mass of Rusyns derived no great benefit from this. We need to appreciate his conclusion, however, that conditions for the cultural development of Rusyns (Ukrainians) in Slovakia even before 1989 were not the worst, even if today those very same ranks of the "well-paid Ukrainian intelligentsia" are providing unreliable information about the real opportunities that they had and still have.

There are other places in Magocsi's report which relate to Slovakia or Czechoslovakia and which could be addressed, although this is not crucial here. The report concerns the Rusyn question with which Magocsi has been occupied for decades and which he has frequently presented publicly. We might consider this report as offering the definitive statement of his views which must be noted because the Rusyn question relates to us also. Magocsi's opinions on a number of questions are different than ours, but this is understandable because his views developed in a world and in circumstances that are different from ours. We do agree on the fundamental issue, however, that everyone has the right to define his own national identity. This means that Rusyns also must have this right, including those Rusyns who have come to the conclusion that they are Ukrainians.

Magocsi's plans on how to aid in the emancipation of Rusyns and his recommendations to the leaders of those countries in which Rusyns live about how to proceed in the process of ensuring equal rights for Rusyns indicate that he

has both a professional and emotional commitment toward the "Rusyn question." We can understand this better if we take into consideration that this American-Canadian professor does not shy away from speaking openly about his own Rusyn roots and his identification with Rusyns. This is not meant as a reproach, but as praise.

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PAUL R. MAGOCSI'S REPORT FROM ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW

Magocsi's report is flawed from the outset. He attempts to convince his audience that the Carpatho-Rusyns are a fourth distinct East Slavic people, that they allegedly considered themselves distinct from time immemorial, and that they were considered as such by the international community. Also, the Communists ceased to recognize Rusyns as a distinct people after their takeover, and against both their will and desire began to consider them Ukrainians. It is entirely natural, then, that after the fall of Communism Rusyns should experience a reawakening.

The reality is different. The ethnonym *Rusyn* is derived from a territorial body called Rus' (Kievan Rus', Galician Rus', Subcarpathian Rus'), which for centuries referred to the entire territory of today's Ukraine. The term *Rus'* is found in written monuments from the tenth century, for instance seven times in the treaties between Prince Igor and Byzantium from 911 A.D. Later, in the twelfth-fourteenth centuries, the term's usage widened to include also Muscovite Rus', that is today's Russia. Thus, Carpatho-Rusyns have always felt themselves to be a component part of a larger Rus' nation. Carpatho-Rusyns were recognized as such not only by neighboring tribes and peoples, but also by all scholars up until the present, beginning with Šafárik, Kollár, and Štúr.

Magocsi is the first scholar who is attempting to convince Rusyns, and the greater public, that they are a distinct people separate from Ukrainians by virtue of their language, religious faith, psychology, and their whole being. According to his view, Rusyns "constitute a great divide between the Catholic west and the Orthodox east. . . . While their speech clearly belongs to the realm of East Slavic languages, the majority of their vocabulary, pronunciational stress, and even syntax, is West Slavic." This last assertion is illogical. How can an East Slavic language have a West Slavic vocabulary, stress, and syntax, which are after all the basic components of every language? This absurd and unsubstantiated assertion undercuts all dialectological research in the region up to the present. All researchers up to now (Broch, Hnatjuk, Verchrats'kyj, Czambel, Pan'kevyč, Gerovskyj, Latta, and the authors of the post-war *Atlas of the Slovak Language*) classify the vocabulary and the syntax of Carpathian dialects as belonging to the Ukrainian language. Only one dialect in the Carpathian region, the Lemko dialect, has fixed stress. All other dialects have the same movable stress as Ukrainian. It is typical that Magocsi derived his thesis about the West Slavic character of Rusyn vocabulary, syntax, and stress not from professional linguists, but from amateurs: V. Petrovaj, author of a thus far unpublished Rusyn dictionary who was born in Medzilaborce and has lived since the age of seven in the Don oblast of Ukraine,

and S. Bunganič, a retired high school teacher of physics and chemistry and author of a thus far unpublished Rusyn grammar. Only they, and no one else, assert that West Slavic elements predominate in the Rusyn language.

Similarly, Magocsi tries to demonstrate an antithesis between the Greek Catholic and Orthodox faiths. According to him, the “confessional differences [between these denominations] reflect a whole mind-set that is either western- or eastern-oriented.” The Orthodox allegedly deny the self and place their fate in God’s hands, while the Greek Catholics take fate into their own hands. In reality there was and is almost no difference between the believers in these two denominations. Both denominations maintain the same eastern rite, use the same religious books, and employ the same Church Slavic language. Another question altogether is the fact that the Greek Catholic church, which for centuries preserved a Rusyn national consciousness among the faithful, is at the present time engaging in the slovakization of Rusyns.

As proof of the distinctness of the Rusyns, Magocsi appends to most of his works a map of their territorial location. This map, which for the past fifteen years has adorned the outside back cover of the quarterly publication of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, is a graphic example of Magocsi’s unscholarly approach to his subject. Magocsi considers the eastern border of the Rusyn population to coincide with the administrative boundary between the Transcarpathian oblast of Ukraine on one side and the L’viv and Ivano-Frankiv’sk oblasts on the other side. Yet on both sides of these borders live the same Bojkos and Huculs, that is members of the very same ethnic group. How can one classify Transcarpathian Bojkos and Lemkos as Rusyns and Galician Bojkos and Huculs as Ukrainians?

The substance of Magocsi’s report emerges from the revived status of Rusyns in Transcarpathian Ukraine, Slovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia after the revolution of 1989. Magocsi wholeheartedly welcomes the Rusyn separatist organizations which have arisen in all of these countries. He considers the First World Congress of Rusyns, which took place in Medzilaborce, Slovakia in 1991, as a landmark in the development of Rusyn national consciousness. The congress supposedly had an “enormous impact on instilling Rusyn national pride in the over 300 persons who attended.” As proof of this influence, he presents the results of a population census which was held a week after the congress: 17,000 Rusyns and 14,000 Ukrainians, together 31,000—the lowest number recorded on this territory in all its history. And, according to Magocsi, this is only 23% of the real number which means that 77% of Rusyns apparently claimed Slovak identity. So then what kind of “enormous impact” is this, when four-fifths of the population identifies with another people?

The last part of Magocsi’s report is devoted to his perspective on the future development of the Rusyn question in the various countries in which Rusyns live. According to Magocsi, if Ukraine, the Czech and Slovak Republics, Poland, and Yugoslavia want to become members of the “new Europe,” they must recognize Rusyns as a distinct people “regardless of how scholars or governments might define Rusyns.” In his report Magocsi gives every government a lecture on how it is to proceed in order to fulfil international agreements relating to minorities, including Rusyns. In his views we might discern a particular development.

In his lecture at the Slovak Academy of Sciences Institute of History in Bratislava in the summer of 1991, which was published in several periodicals, Magocsi stated: “Czechoslovakia is struggling to rebuild its obsolete industrial infrastructure. . . . If it wants to compete with its products on the world market, can it still invest hundreds and thousands of crowns a year in support of personnel in theaters, museums, publishing houses, radio and television, and finally in schools simply because these are institutions of national minorities?” (*Kultúrny život*, June 30, 1991, p. 8). Magocsi repeated this formulation again in his report which I am addressing here. His “advice” to the governments of the Czech and Slovak Republics was presented in the form of a question, although the question is not only rhetorical in nature. His unspoken answer is completely obvious: if the government will continue to support cultural institutions of national minorities, it will not extricate itself from its economic crisis. Hence, according to Magocsi, bread, milk, and cheese are more important than the culture of national minorities.

In the report under consideration here, Magocsi changed his view and admitted that the government could provide financial support to national minorities, but only under the following condition: It must divide financial resources not according to work produced, but according to the “real” number of members of both national minorities: 55% to Rusyn organizations, 45% to Ukrainian organizations. It is not hard to see what the fulfilment of this principle would mean. Every institution would have to divide into two parts, so that there would have to be two museums—Rusyn and Ukrainian—two radio and television stations, two university departments, and even two sets of schools. There is no doubt that such a division would lead to a considerable weakening of these institutions and to their demise.

At first glance, Magocsi’s approach seems logical, but there is one problem over which he has passed in silence. Up to now there has not been (and never was) a Rusyn literary language. The literary language of Yugoslav Rusyns is not useful for the Carpathian region. And if there is no literary language, how can the government financially support Rusyn schools, Rusyn radio, Rusyn literature, and so on? Magocsi’s demand is uncompromising: “The Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic must provide teachers and textbooks in Rusyn.” But how can this be done if there is no Rusyn literary language? And in spite of all the propaganda, there has not been recorded a single instance of the people themselves demanding Rusyn schools or even the study of Rusyn language. All attempts up to now to create an independent Rusyn language have failed.

The evolution of language in Ukraine and in other countries has been from dialects to a standard literary language. Before the implementation of the so-called “ukrainianization” at the beginning of the 1950s, there was no Rusyn nationality in Slovakia, nor Rusyn schools, nor Rusyn newspapers. There was, however, a Russian (that is, Great Russian) nationality, Russian schools, and Russian newspapers. Even the Ukrainian national theater presented most of its plays in literary Russian. My generation and the generation of my parents erroneously considered themselves Russian. There was no independent “Rusyn” orientation in Slovakia at all. That orientation was created only in 1989. In other words, the Communist regime liquidated not the Rusyn, but the Great Russian orientation—and this is something very different.

Magocsi’s sympathies are clearly on the side of the Rusyn orientation, particularly the Rusyn Renaissance Society

(Rusyns'ka Obroda), an organization without a membership base that unites several individuals of an anti-Ukrainian orientation. Magocsi unconditionally supports the efforts of that society to "protect" Rusyn identity in Eastern Slovakia and to "de-ukrainianize" Rusyn cultural life.

Magocsi considers another organization, the Union of Rusyn-Ukrainians, which boasts 10,000 members of both Rusyn and Ukrainian orientations, a "direct descendant ... of the formerly Communist-dominated Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers," "still with largely the same leadership." Magocsi is not at all disturbed by the contradiction between his assertion and reality. Both the president and vice-president of the Union of Rusyn-Ukrainians were persecuted by the Communist regime for twenty years and among the thirteen members of the executive branch of the union only one was a member of the former Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers. Magocsi's unsubstantiated assertion about the new union creates the impression that everything that is Ukrainian is Communist, that is, reactionary, and everything that is Rusyn is progressive.

Magocsi's report suggests that the government supports only Ukrainian-oriented organizations and institutions (with the exception of the Ukrainian National Theater which has changed its orientation and has become the Rusyn Aleksander Duchnovyč Theater). In reality the whole operation of the anti-Ukrainian Rusyn Renaissance Society—its congresses, assemblies, festivals, news and publications—is financed by the state from the budget of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic.

Magocsi considers his thesis that Rusyns and Ukrainians are two distinct peoples self-evident, and thus he sees no need to justify it. For him sufficient proof lies in the fact that in the last census in Slovakia, almost 17,000 people identified as Rusyns and only 14,000 as Ukrainians. In reality, we are talking here about members of one and the same nationali-

ty. I do not have at my disposal the results of sociological research, but as an ethnographer who knows this region well, I believe that most of those who declare themselves to be Rusyns subconsciously incline toward Ukrainian culture. I consider myself Rusyn, but I know that I belong to the Ukrainian people. I consider the Ukrainian language and culture my own, just like a Šarišan (resident of the former Šariš county) considers himself a Slovak, a Moravian considers himself a Czech, and a Bavarian considers himself a German—even if each one of them speaks his native dialect all his life and if most of them never master the literary language.

I consider contemporary efforts to create a distinct Rusyn people a question of politics rather than nationality, and all the more so not a scholar's responsibility. In all parts of Ukraine there has occurred an evolution from an initial Rusyn nationality to Ukrainian nationality. This trend cannot be different either in the Transcarpathian oblast of Ukraine, Slovakia, or Poland. The ethnonyms *Rusyn* and *Ukrainian* are synonymous—the first older, the second more recent. Any effort to drive a wedge between a Rusyn and a Ukrainian orientation will lead to the weakening and eventual assimilation of both, such as has occurred in northern Hungary where all the former Rusyns were magyarized simply because they insisted on the idea of a distinct Rusyn (Ruthene) nationality.

I cannot dispute the right of every citizen to identify with a nationality according to his own convictions. But scholarship cannot adapt the results of research to a temporary fashionable trend. Results must have permanent value. From this point of view, Magocsi's report reminds me more of a political tract than a scholarly study.

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(Translated by Patricia A. Krafcik)

RECENT EVENTS

Komlóska, Hungary. On February 6, 1993, the Organization of Rusyns in Hungary (see *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, Vol. XV, No. 3, 1992, p. 2) held its first plenary meeting in the village of Komlóska in northeastern Hungary. In the presence of numerous residents in one of the last Rusyn-speaking villages in Hungary, the chairman of the organization, Gábor Hattinger, greeted a delegation of the Rusyn Renaissance Society in Slovakia headed by Jaroslav Sisak, Professor István Udvari of the Department and Rusyn Philology at the University of Nyíregyháza, and Professor Miklós Popovics of the University of Budapest. Of particular interest were words of greeting from Dr. Serhij Pan'ko of Kiev State University who stated: "Many people in Ukraine know what Rusyns want. . . . It is untrue that Ukraine does not recognize Rusyns. Whether in Kiev, Užhorod, or Nyíregyháza, we will make every effort so that Rusyns will never be repressed and that they will live better than they have until now."

Following talks (in Hungarian) on the historic background of Rusyns by Professors Udvari and Popovics, the organization's vice-chairman, Ladislav Popovyč, spoke of plans to establish a Rusyn choral group and to obtain a building that will serve the needs of Rusyn cultural activity not only

in Komlóska but also in several neighboring villages like Mogyoróska, Regecz, Rudabányácska, and others where there are still people who remember their Rusyn roots.

Svidník, Slovakia. On February 6, 1993, the Rusyn Renaissance Society (Rusyns'ka Obroda) held its third annual meeting (sejm) to assess its past achievements and outline its goals for 1993. Among the goals are: to create a conceptual framework for the recently founded Rusyn Language Institute in Prešov; to publish a Rusyn grammar, primer, and rule book; to work with Slovakia's Ministry of Education to assure the study of Rusyn culture two hours weekly in elementary schools beginning in the 1993/1994 school year; to assure the creation of an independent editorial staff for Rusyn-language radio and television programs; to create a department of Rusyn language and culture at Šafárik University in Prešov; and to urge the Slovak government to have on its Council for National Minority Affairs separate representatives for Rusyns and for Ukrainians, and not for "Rusyn-Ukrainians" together.

The third annual meeting also created commissions for schools and for the media and it elected for a three-year term Vasyľ Turok as chairman and Jan Kalynjak as vice-chairman.

Kent, Ohio. On March 27, 1993, Robert C. Metil, a doctoral candidate at the Department of Music at the University of Pittsburgh, delivered a paper entitled, "The Slavjane Folk Ensemble and the Preservation of Rusyn Ethnicity." He read the paper at the 18th annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology held this year at Kent State University's Center for the Study of World Music. In his illustrated lecture, Mr. Metil stressed how the growth of ethnic awareness in the United States and the political changes in the homeland have transformed Slavjane into a leading Rusyn cultural group in North America.

Monroe, New York. On August 29, 1993, the shady woods and grassy lawns of the 105 acre Lemko Resort played host to the 25th Annual Lemko Festival. An estimated 500 people participated, mostly from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Massachusetts, but also from as far away as Florida.

Performers familiar from previous years included the Glinka Russian Folk Dancers, the Karpaty Women's Chorus, and the Limbora Slovak Folk Ensemble. Highlights of the three-hour program included the elegant, powerful professional voice of Misha Slivots'kyj, soloist of the Usmiška Ensemble from Ivano-Frankivs'k, Ukraine, and the first-time appearance of the St. Nicholas Orthodox Greek Catholic Church's Vychodna Dolina Singers from New York City. This choir is made up of two generations of women originally from the towns of Jarabina, Kamienka, and Litmanová in the Rusyn-inhabited Prešov Region of northeastern Slovakia.

Participants were also able to enjoy home-made pirohy and borscht as well as a fascinating little one-room museum crammed with interesting artifacts and exhibits, including a list by province (*województwo*) and village of Lemkos martyred in the World War I Austrian concentration camp at Talerhof, Austria. (by Susyn Mihalasky)

L'viv, Ukraine. The Second International Congress of Ukrainianists (MAU) took place from August 22 to 27, 1993, in the western Ukrainian city of L'viv. Over 200 specialists on Ukrainian language, literature, history, folklore, religion, and politics from Europe, North America, the Far East, and Australia took part in the congress. Several presentations dealt with Carpatho-Rusyns. Considering the context, most—although not all—of the speakers dealt with the problem from a Ukrainian perspective.

Among the presentations dealing with language were: "Church Slavonic and Local Hungarian Words in the Carpatho-Rusyn Language," by Maria Pavlovska (West Lafayette, Indiana); Hungarian Loan-Words in the Language of the Bačka Rusyns," by István Udvari (Nyíregyháza, Hungary); "Theoretical and Methodological Problems in the Study of Dialects Based on Ukraine's Carpathian Dialects," by Janusz Rieger (Warsaw, Poland); "Transcarpathian Ukrainian Place Names from the 19th Century and the Problem of Autochthony," by Svitlana Dubina (L'viv, Ukraine); "The Ukrainian Vocabulary in Transcarpathia in the Context of Ukraine," by Ivan Sabadoš (Užhorod, Ukraine); "Carpatho-Ukrainian Dialects and the History of the Ukrainian Language," by Halyna Klepikova (Moscow, Russia); "The Structure of Anthroponymy in the Former Lemko Region," by Stefaniya Panc'o (Ternopil', Ukraine); "The Past and Present Status of the Ukrainian Language in Eastern Slovakia," by Zuzana Hanudel' (Prešov, Slovakia); and

"The Language Situation Among the Rusyn-Ukrainians of Slovakia Since 1989," by Mykola Štec' (Prešov, Slovakia).

A few papers dealt with ethnographic and historical topics: "The Contemporary Status of Folk Songs in Ukraine's Carpathian Region," by Mykola Zinčuk (Dovhopillja, Ukraine); "The Transcarpathian Village During the Interwar Years, 1919-1939," by Vasyl' Il'ko (Užhorod, Ukraine); "Political Relations Between the Ukrainians of Transcarpathia and Galicia in 1938-1939," by Mykola Veheš and Volodymyr Zadorožnyj (Užhorod, Ukraine); and "On the Question of Periodization in the National and Cultural Life of the Ukrainians of Czecho-Slovakia Since 1945," by Jurij Bača (Prešov, Slovakia).

Finally, there were four papers that dealt with the present-day Rusyn national revival, the last three of which were particularly critical of any ideas that Rusyns may be distinct from Ukrainians—"The Lemkos in Poland," by Paul Best (New Haven, Connecticut); "The Nationality Policy of the Polish Commonwealth Toward the Lemko Region," by Jaroslav Mokryj (Cracow, Poland); "Carpatho-Rusynism: Its Past and Present," by Oleksa Myšanyč (Kiev, Ukraine); and "Political Rusynism in Its Present-Day Form," by Mykola Mušynka (Prešov, Slovakia).

Bratislava, Slovakia. From August 30 through September 8, 1993, the Eleventh International Congress of Slavists took place in the capital of Slovakia. Held every five years in a different Slavic country, this largest of all scholarly conferences dealing with Slavic cultures attracted over 1,200 scholars from 36 countries worldwide.

Seven of the presentations dealt specifically with Carpatho-Rusyns, most of which focused on linguistic issues. These included: "From the Ruthenian Dialect to Literary Language," by Zoltán Medve (Hungary); "Notes on Research Concerning the Interrelations Between East Slovak and Rusyn (Ukrainian) Dialects," by L. Bartko (Slovakia); "A Phonetic and Phonological Description of the Rusyn Language," by O. Timko (Croatia); and "Ukrainian-Slovak Linguistic Relations in East Slovakia—the Prešov Region," by Oleksa Horbatsch (Germany).

Presentations in other disciplines included: "The Difference Between the Rus' and Rusyns in the Settlement of Slovakia During the Middle Ages," by Ferdinand Uličný (Slovakia); "The Evolution of Carpatho-Rusynism in the 20th Century," by Oleksa Myšanyč (Ukraine); "Nation-Building Since the Revolution of 1989: the Case of the Rusyns," by Paul Robert Magocsi (Canada); and "Old Slavonic Traditions in Rural Buildings Among the Rusyn-Ukrainians of Eastern Slovakia," by Myroslav Sopoliga (Slovakia).

Svidník, Slovakia. On September 17, 1993, the Prešov branch of the Rusyn Renaissance Society in cooperation with the Svidník Municipal and Region Cultural Center sponsored the First Rusyn Rock Festival. More than a dozen local rock singing groups performed before hundreds of young fans at the Svidník House of Culture. The program was conducted in Rusyn with the requirement that each group and soloist had to have as least one Rusyn rock song in its repertoire. This first Rusyn Rock Festival helped reveal to young people that Rusyn culture is a living organism with a language that can and should be used in all walks of life: at home, in schools, and for the expression of all forms of culture.

SECOND WORLD CONGRESS OF RUSYNS

The following are the official documents issued by the Second World Congress of Rusyns, held in Krynica, Poland, May 22-23, 1993. For details see the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, Summer 1993, p. 11.

PROGRAMMATIC STATEMENT

The Second World Congress of Rusyns in Krynica

A. Approves:

1. The reports read by the heads of the delegations of each country where Rusyns live.

B. Accepts:

1. As its new member the Organization of Rusyns in Hungary and its chairperson, Gabriel Hattinger, as a member of the Interregional Council of the World Congress of Rusyns.

C. Proposes:

1. That as of September 1, 1993, all Rusyn organizations work to introduce in schools located in villages and towns where Rusyns live the voluntary study of Rusyn language, culture, and history two hours weekly.
2. To publish by the end of 1993, a *Dictionary of Rusyn Linguistic Terminology*, an *Orthographic Dictionary of the Rusyn Language*, a *Primer*, a *Reader*, and, by the end of 1994, a *Grammar of the Rusyn Language*.
3. To enhance the Rusyn Renaissance Society's Research Center for Rusyn Language and Culture, which should be transformed into a Department [Katedra] of Rusyn Studies at the Pedagogical Faculty of Šafárik University in Prešov.
4. To publish before the end of 1994 anthologies of Rusyn poetry and prose that will include works by authors in

all countries where Rusyns live.

5. To discuss at the first meeting of the newly-elected Interregional Council of the World Congress of Rusyns the creation of an interregional organization of Rusyns called the Rusyn Matka.
6. To create scholarly, economic, and cultural-educational commissions of the World Congress of Rusyns.
7. To create in Prešov a common fund to support the development of Rusyn culture.
8. That in 1995 the Rusyn Matka organize in Ruski Kerestur (Yugoslavia) the Third World Congress of Rusyns.

PROCLAMATION

1. We urge the governments of the countries where Rusyns live to assist them in their cultural and national development.
2. We urge the parliament and president of Ukraine to recognize Rusyns as an independent and distinct nationality. The present situation of the Rusyns in Subcarpathian Rus' (Transcarpathian oblast of Ukraine) is in violation of the international charter on human rights. In December 1991, the government of Ukraine made it possible for Rusyns to decide by democratic means their nationality question. We believe this development which has begun should continue so that such democratic processes are able to fulfill the interests of both the state and the state and the Rusyn people.
3. We request that Lemko Rusyns who do not consider themselves Ukrainian be recognized as part of the Rusyn nationality and be treated as a distinct national minority in Poland. We request that the Vistula Action [forced deportation in 1947] be declared illegal and that the moral and material damages it inflicted be rectified.

SINCE THE REVOLUTION OF 1989

Prague, Czech Republic. Despite the division of Czechoslovakia into two independent states, interest in Carpatho-Rusyns has not decreased in the far western regions of the former federal republic. In late January 1993, a new organization was established known as the Society of Rusyns in the Czech Republic (Obšestvo Rusyniv Českoj Republiky). This is actually the second Rusyn organization on Czech lands to be founded since the Revolution of 1989.

In contrast to the older Society of Friends of Subcarpathian Rus' founded in 1990 (see the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, XV, 3, 1992, p. 9), which caters primarily to Czechs that have personal ties with the pre-World War II province of Subcarpathian Rus', the new society wishes to focus primarily on persons of Rusyn background in Bohemia and Moravia and it hopes to promote a sense of Rusyness among their descendants who live in a Czech environment. Among the activists who established the Society of Rusyns are the last governor of Subcarpathian Rus', Dr. Ivan Parkanyi; the resident Greek Catholic priest in Prague, the Reverend Ivan Ljavynec'; the first chairman of the Society of Friends of

Subcarpathian Rus', Aleksander Velyčko; and Rudolf Matola. Among the society's goals are to assist newcomers and students from Subcarpathian Rus' to find jobs or scholarships, and to publish books about Subcarpathian Rus'.

Kiev, Ukraine. On February 7, 1993, the Papal Nuncio to Ukraine, Archbishop Antonio Franko, issued a statement clarifying the status of the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Mukačevo. Ever since the re-legalization of the Greek Catholic Church in the former Soviet Union in the late 1980s and the independence of Ukraine in 1991, a controversy has erupted over the issue of whether the Eparchy of Mukačevo, with its seat in Užhorod, should remain under the jurisdiction of the Vatican (as it has since 1937) or become part of the jurisdiction of the Archeparchy (Metropolitanate) of L'viv for all Greek (Ukrainian) Catholics in Ukraine (see the discussion in the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1991; Vol. XV, Nos. 1 and 4, 1992). The bishop of Mukačevo, Ivan Semedij, together with his auxiliary bishop Josyf Holovač and three-quarters of the eparchy's priests wished to remain under the Vatican. Local Ukrainian activists (many former Communists) supported by the Ukrainian

diaspora abroad and auxiliary bishop Ivan Margityč wanted to become an integral part of the "Ukrainian" Archeparchy of L'viv.

In October 1992, Pope John Paul II dispatched to Transcarpathia a fact-finding commission, and on January 8, 1993, his decision was announced by the Papal Nuncio to Ukraine. "For the time being, the Mukačevo Eparchy will retain its present status and not be under the jurisdiction of the L'viv Archeparchy or under any other metropolitan see outside of Ukraine, but rather under the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See [the Vatican]."

The statement stressed that the Eparchy of Mukačevo must remain unified and under the authority of its ordinary, Bishop Semeđij. The Vatican also recognizes that among the East Slavic inhabitants of Transcarpathia "a portion are of Ukrainian nationality but another portion do not have a Ukrainian identity." Therefore, it recommends: (1) that the two auxiliary bishops become vicars to serve the specific needs of Ukrainians (Margityč) and "those who do not consider themselves Ukrainian" (Holovač); and (2) that the eparchial administration include both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian clergy.

Mukačevo, Ukraine. On May 15, 1993, delegates at a meeting of the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns decided to create a provisional government for Subcarpathian Rus'. Four days later, on May 19, Subcarpathian minister of foreign affairs, Tibor Ondyk, and minister for culture and economics, Dr. Jurij Dumnyč, travelled to Bratislava, Slovakia where they announced their government's intentions. Ondyk spoke of "genocide toward the Rusyn people" on the part of Ukraine, whose government refuses to recognize Rusyns as a distinct nationality. Dumnyč reported on economic discrimination against the Transcarpathian oblast (Subcarpathian Rus') where prices are fifty percent higher and salaries one-fifth lower than in other parts of Ukraine.

The provisional government of Subcarpathian Rus' intends to ask the United Nations and parliaments worldwide for assistance in obtaining state sovereignty (independence) for their homeland. In particular, they are calling for a referendum under international auspices to be carried out in Subcarpathian Rus' in order to determine the local population's views on state sovereignty. The provisional government claims as its territory only the Transcarpathian oblast of Ukraine, not Rusyn-inhabited lands in neighboring countries. Initially, the new government did not for security reasons announce the name of its prime minister, although subsequently his name was released. It is Dr. Ivan Turjanycja, professor of biochemistry at Užhorod State University and chairman of the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns.

Despite speculation by the media in East Central Europe, which has taken a great interest in this matter, Subcarpathia's provisional government has no formal or informal relationship to the World Congress of Rusyns. The goals of Subcarpathia's provisional government will appear in the next issue of the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*.

Prešov, Slovakia. On August 4, 1993, the weekly newspaper of the Rusyn Renaissance Society, *Narodný novynký*, announced that it received from the Slovak Bureau of Statistics in Bratislava new results of the 1991 Czecho-Slovak census, in particular information regarding languages spoken by the inhabitants of Slovakia. The results are quite revealing: 49,099 persons responded their native language is Rusyn; only 9,480 said it was Ukrainian. The same census

source had previously announced the following answers to the question of national identity in Slovakia: 16,937 Rusyns; 13,847 Ukrainians; and 1,624 Russians.

Ever since the late nineteenth century, when statistics began to be collected with any consistency in East Central Europe, informed government and scholarly circles have considered the answer to native language (mother tongue) to be the most reliable source in determining the ethnocultural identity of people living in multi-national states. This is because individuals often confuse the concept of nationality with state citizenship. Therefore, people have claimed themselves to be Austrians, Hungarians, Poles, or Slovaks because they lived in Austria, Hungary, Poland, or Slovakia, not because they were of Austrian, Hungarian, Polish, or Slovak ethnic or cultural origin.

This new information leads to the following conclusions: (1) that today there are officially over 49,000 Rusyns in Slovakia; and (2) that among the East Slavs in Slovakia five times more identify themselves as Rusyns than as Ukrianians.

Bratislava, Slovakia. On September 2, 1993, representatives of Slovakia's national minorities met for the second time with the republic's president, Michal Kováč, and government officials. The session focused on the written submissions each group submitted to the president following the first meeting on May 20. At that time, each of Slovakia's minorities made requests concerning an improvement of their own status. The Rusyns, for instance, called for the creation of a Rusyn radio program and university department for Rusyn studies in Prešov and for a resolution of the problem regarding the Museum of Ukrainian Culture in Svidník.

Only the Ukrainians put forth demands that concerned other groups. In particular, they demanded that the "Rusyn Renaissance Society (Rusyns'ka Obroda) be abolished, that recognition of the Rusyn nationality be abolished, and that institutions that had and still belong to Ukrainians belong in the future only to Ukrainians." Slovakia's president and several ministers rejected these demands, stating that protection for a Rusyn nationality is inscribed in the Slovak constitution and that the Rusyn Renaissance Society is a legal organization doing positive cultural work.

A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Heritage

THE CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN

The *Carpatho-Rusyn American* (ISSN 0749-9213) is a quarterly publication of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center Inc., a non-profit cultural organization whose purpose is to promote knowledge about all aspects of Carpatho-Rusyn culture through the publication and distribution of scholarly and educational material about the Carpatho-Rusyn heritage in Europe and America.

General inquiries concerning the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, and all communications concerning this publication, should be directed to:

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132 Hawthorne Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15218
Phone: 412-371-3823

Patricia A. Krafcik, Editor
Annual Subscription is \$12.00



Carpatho-Rusyn American
132 Hawthorne Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15218

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CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN[®]

A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Ethnic Heritage



Vol. XVI, No. 4

Winter, 1993

AUTONOMY—THE PEOPLE HAVE SPOKEN

In the political world, autonomy means that a given territory has a wide degree of decision-making power over its own political, economic, and sociocultural affairs, even though it is part of another state. Rusyns, most especially those living south of the Carpathian Mountains, have had extensive experience with actual or promised autonomy for their homeland.

In the course of the twentieth century, the autonomy question for the Rusyns of Subcarpathian Rus', today Transcarpathia, was seriously considered as many as five times. First raised during the summer of 1918 among Rusyn immigrants in the United States, the autonomy idea soon struck roots in the European homeland.

The first experience began in December 1918, when the new post-World War I democratic Hungarian government created an autonomous province called the Rusyn Land (Rus'ka Kraina) with its own governor and elected assembly. Hungary's Rusyn Land functioned for nearly four months until April 1919.

It ended because Czechoslovak troops occupied most of Subcarpathian Rus', which in May 1919 voluntarily joined the new state of Czechoslovakia. The decision by Rusyns to join the Czechs and Slovaks was premised on the understanding that their homeland would have wide-ranging autonomy. That understanding was inscribed in international law, according to the Paris Peace Conference's Treaty of St. Germain in September 1919, and in the Czechoslovak constitution of February 1920. This second attempt at autonomy was to last for nearly twenty years. During that time, Subcarpathian Rus' had its own governor and partially elected provincial assembly, although it had very limited authority over its own political and economic affairs. Nevertheless, Rusyns and other nationalities living in Subcarpathian Rus' did learn what autonomy could be if it were fully implemented.

That chance came in October 1938, when the first Czechoslovak republic under pressure from Hitler's Germany was replaced by a federal state in which Subcarpathian Rus' became one of its three self-governing parts. Within a month the province was re-named Carpatho-Ukraine and was governed by its own cabinet headed by a prime minister. Although still part of federated Czecho-Slovakia, Carpatho-Ukraine determined its own internal affairs and organized elections to a local parliament. When the parliament finally met on March 15, 1939, it declared independence for Carpatho-Ukraine. But that very same day Hungarian troops invaded the province and forcibly incorporated it into Hungary.

Initially, the Hungarian government promised to implement autonomy sometime in 1940 for the region they called Carpathia (Kárpátalja), but such promises were never fulfilled. Hungary was by then engaged in World War II on the side of Hitler, and when the Hungarians were defeated by the Soviet Union, historic Subcarpathian Rus' suddenly found itself in September 1944 in the hands of the Red Army and local Communists. With approval from Stalin and the eventual acquiescence of the provisional parliament of a restored Czechoslovakia, Subcarpathian Rus'—by then renamed Transcarpathia—was "voluntarily re-united" to the Soviet Ukraine. Under highly centralized Soviet Communist rule, there was no possibility for any kind of autonomy, although in actual practice Transcarpathia did have its own regional national assembly (Narodna Rada) made up exclusively of Communist party deputies who did have a limited number of responsibilities for local administration.

With the Revolution of 1989, the eventual fall of Communism, and the demise of the Soviet Union, demands for

the restoration of autonomy were once again heard from several segments of the Transcarpathian population. In 1991, Transcarpathia's regional national assembly (Narodna Rada) appointed a commission to study and make concrete proposals for autonomy. All this was happening at the very same time that nationalist leaders throughout Ukraine were demanding sovereignty and eventually independence from the Soviet Union. These same Ukrainian activists, both within and beyond Transcarpathia, campaigned strongly against any kind of autonomy for the region.

December 1, 1991, became a historic day for Transcarpathia as well as for Ukraine as a whole. On that day, in one and the same referendum, over 90 percent of Ukraine's citizens voted in favor of independence for Ukraine; and over 78 percent of Transcarpathia's citizens voted in favor of autonomy for their region. Never before had the voice of the people been solicited. In the past, autonomy was decided upon by governments or by a small number of political leaders. For the first time, in December 1991, there was a vote on the issue in a referendum recognized as legally and morally binding by the citizens and authorities of Ukraine as well as by international observers.

And now, over two years later, what is the situation? Ukraine has its independence, but Transcarpathia is denied autonomy. Local pro-Ukrainian leaders in Transcarpathia as well as Ukrainian nationalists elsewhere in Ukraine and in North America have devised all kinds of excuses to argue against autonomy. At first they said the "Transcarpathians" do not understand what autonomy is. This seemed particularly ironic since of all parts of present-day Ukraine in the twentieth century, *only* Transcarpathia experienced (when part of Czechoslovakia) some form of autonomy and democratic self-rule.

But the real reason for opposition on the part of Ukrainians is that many—although not all—of the Transcarpathians who favor autonomy also believe that the indigenous East Slavic population of the province comprises a Rusyn nationality distinct from Ukrainians. While the new democratic state of Ukraine has granted liberal rights to all minorities—Russians, Jews, Poles, Tatars, and others—living on its territory, it has denied corporate status to Rusyns. Rusynism is equated with autonomy which, in turn, is equated with political separatism and anti-Ukrainianism.

Such equations are little more than fabrications by anti-Rusyn Ukrainian nationalists. It is true that Transcarpathia's national assembly has formally petitioned the central government to implement autonomy, but autonomy within Ukraine. Even the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns, whose leaders created in May 1993 a Provisional Government for Subcarpathian Rus', are not opposed to Ukraine. That society considers the 1944-1945 Soviet annexation of Transcarpathia invalid according to international law. Consequently, the autonomous status of Subcarpathian Rus' inscribed in the 1919 Paris Peace Conference is still binding. The goal of the recently-created Provisional Government, therefore, is "to unite Subcarpathian Rus' with Ukraine," but this time on a voluntary basis.

Whether or not one agrees with such legalistic arguments based on a specific, perhaps even valid, interpretation of past historical events, the fact remains that on December 1, 1991, in the all-Ukrainian referendum, 78 percent of Transcarpathia's inhabitants voted for autonomy. The voice of the people has finally been heard. Threats by extremist Ukrainian nationalists and even paramilitary forces will not silence the just demands for regional autonomy. The question is whether the government and parliament of a democratic Ukraine will listen and act accordingly.

Paul Robert Magocsi
Toronto, Ontario

MAKSYM SANDOVYČ (1886-1914)

Maksym Sandovyč was born on February 1, 1886, in the heart of the Lemko Region of what was then the Austrian province of Galicia in the Rusyn village of Żdynia, Gorlice county, in present-day Poland. His father, Tymofej, was the cantor at Żdynia's Greek Catholic church. Maksym received his primary education in Gorlice and finished high school in the nearby towns of Jasło and Nowy Sącz. After a short stay at the Greek Catholic Basilian monastery in Cracow, where he grew dissatisfied with what he perceived as attempts to latinize the Eastern Rite and denationalize the Rusyns, he crossed the border into the Russian Empire and entered the Orthodox monastery at Počajiv, which was also the seat of the eparchy of Volhynia. Sandovyč's outstanding potential attracted the attention of Bishop Antonij Chrapovickij of Volhynia, who enrolled him in the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Żytomir.

After completing his seminary education in 1911, that same year he married Pelagija Grigorjuk and was ordained to the priesthood. At that time a movement to return to Orthodoxy was becoming widespread in the Lemko Region, and Sandovyč returned home to serve an Orthodox parish in the village of Hrab, as well as in the neighboring villages of Wyszowadka (Rusyn: Výsovátka) and Długie (Rusyn: Dovhe). On December 2, 1911, he served his first Divine Liturgy in Hrab, but soon after the Austrian authorities, suspicious of the Orthodox movement for its alleged "pro-Russian" sympathies, issued the parish an order prohibiting any further activity. Sandovyč refused to comply, and continued to conduct services in village homes. As a result, he and his parishioners were frequently fined, and he was often held under temporary arrest.

Just before Easter in the spring of 1912, Sandovyč visited his friend and confessor, Father Ihnatij Hudyma, who was pastor in a village near Galicia's administrative center of L'viv. Suspected of espionage activities on behalf of tsarist Russia, both priests were arrested by the Austrian authorities. They spent over two years in a L'viv prison until their trial began on March 9, 1914. Both were acquitted and freed on June 7. Sandovyč immediately returned to his native village of Żdynia where he continued worshipping with his Orthodox parishioners.

On August 4, 1914, just after the outbreak of World War I, Sandovyč's priestly activities led to the arrest and imprisonment of his entire family. This time, however, he received no court trial. On the morning of September 6, Sandovyč awoke in his cell and read his morning prayers. Austrian soldiers and gendarmes led him to the wall of the prison courtyard. Before a group of local officials and his imprisoned father, Tymofej, his hands were bound and he was blindfolded. Two gendarmes were arranged on each side of him only four paces away. The death sentence was read, the rifles went off, and he slumped against the wall, reportedly uttering the words, "Long live the Rus' people, long live Orthodoxy." To assure that he was dead, a gendarme approached and fired three revolver blasts into Father Maksym's head while Pelagija wept in her cell.

On September 12, 1914, Sandovyč's father, his pregnant wife, and brother were sent to the concentration camp at Talerhof near Graz in the far western part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was at Talerhof that Pelagija gave birth to a son, named Maksym in honor of his father. Like his father, the younger Maksym also entered the priesthood. Upon ordination, he accepted the pastorate of the Orthodox church in the Lemko Rusyn village of Banica. When after World War II, the Lemko Rusyns were deported from their homeland, the younger Father Sandovyč served a parish in Białystok in northeastern Poland, where he remained until



his death in 1991.

Meanwhile, in 1920 the Rusyn-American community leader, Viktor Hladyk, also a native of the Lemko Region, travelled to the Paris Peace Conference where he raised the issue of independence for the Lemko Region. Meeting there with Tymofej Sandovyč, he helped to transfer Father Maksym's remains from the Roman Catholic cemetery in Gorlice to the village cemetery in Żdynia. After returning to the United States, Hladyk raised enough money to pay for a gravestone and the reburial. Tymofej accompanied the body of his priest-son back to Żdynia, where he was finally reburied in 1922. Father Maksym Sandovyč's life, death, and deeds were remembered in song and poetry by local Lemko Rusyns, and requiem services at his grave drew hundreds of pilgrims from Poland and abroad.

In 1986, Bishop Adam (Dubec) of the Orthodox Eparchy of Przemysł/Novy Sącz blessed the site in Gorlice where the Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity was to be constructed in honor of Sandovyč. It was completed and consecrated on September 8, 1991. The choir of the Orthodox church in Krynica, directed by the well-known Lemko-Rusyn poet, Petro Murianka-Trochanovskij, sang the responses and later a hymn for Father Maksym written specially for the occasion. In his sermon, Poland's Orthodox Metropolitan Vasilij from Warsaw spoke of the tragic fate of the Lemko Rusyns and of the martyrdom of Sandovyč. Two American Orthodox priests of Lemko-Rusyn background, Father Daniel Ressetar of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, who is a relative of Sandovyč, and Father John Nehrebecki of Paramus, New Jersey, read an appeal by Lemko-Rusyn Americans for the canonization of Father Maksym. At the end of the rite of consecration, a memorial service was held and a marble monument donated by the Sandovyč family was blessed.

In recognition of Father Maksym Sandovyč's martyrdom, the Orthodox Church of Poland will canonize him as its first Rusyn saint in September 1994. The canonization will take place at Holy Trinity Orthodox Church in Gorlice, a town near the Lemko Region in the southeast corner of Poland (see in this issue, UPCOMING EVENTS).

Richard D. Custer
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

SOME REFLECTIONS ON PAUL R. MAGOCSI'S STATUS REPORT

The following is the last of three commentaries and a response by the author of the status report by Paul R. Magocsi, "Carpatho-Rusyns: Their Current Status and Future Perspectives," which appeared in the Carpatho-Rusyn American, Vol. XVI, No. 2, Summer 1993, pp. 4-9. This concludes the English-language translation of the entire discussion that originally took place on the pages of Slovenský národopis, nos. 2 and 3 (Bratislava, 1992), the scholarly journal of the Ethnographic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. — Editor

It is quite fortunate that the editors of the journal, *Slovenský národopis*, decided to publish this discussion about Carpatho-Rusyns. Events of the past few years demonstrate that this small ethnic community has long awaited its revival. At the present time research on the Rusyn question has already undergone significant changes. The new political atmosphere in our part of Europe now allows for a bolder and broader study of the Rusyn question. The time has come for a confrontation between often contradictory, mutually exclusive, and otherwise differing views on this question. I stress this point for a reason. In the past, politically motivated restrictions concerning scholarly research were accompanied by the viewpoint that it was not necessary to do research on the Rusyn problem. Still today, some say—and here I have in mind several representatives of Ukrainian studies—that history and scholarship have already solved the Rusyn problem without regard for what the Rusyns themselves may think. Such a view is a phenomenon of the mental legacy created by a vulgarized version of Marxism. Instead of arriving at scholarly conclusions by observing and analyzing an existing and changing reality, some propose to take a step backward: to popularize a "truth" constructed of general theoretical postulates to which reality must be adapted.

I consider Magocsi's text valuable because it offers a description of the ethnic reality in the Carpathian region and provides an accurate analysis of it. Thanks to the fact that he employs the term *Rusyn*, the territory and inhabitants who reside in it, often handled until now in scholarly works with a dose of impatient protectionism, are described here more thoroughly and correctly than in the works of those who demand a "reformation" of our understanding of Rusyns that coincides with the preconceived notions of a particular circle of researchers. Unlike his predecessors, Magocsi has moved research on the national consciousness of the East Slavic inhabitants of the Carpathians forward in the proper direction.

There is one aspect of Magocsi's report which I regard as especially interesting: his reference to East and West Slavic elements in Carpatho-Rusyn culture. This issue has a fundamental significance, for precisely in such cultural dualism—together with the isolation of Rusyns in their mountain homeland—is found the essence of their national differences from Ukrainians, their brothers in terms of language and religion, as well as from their neighbors to the west, the Slovaks and Poles. This fundamental cultural dualism, which could not be expunged by lengthy programs of denationalization or re-nationalization, such as the Polish plan for the polonization of the Lemkos in the 1930s, or Ukrainianization in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and in the Soviet Union after World War II, is proof of the "distinctness"

of Rusyns and brings into question that which some have considered to be little more than "separatism." In his opening remarks, Magocsi states that "the Rusyns are not a peripheral group, but rather one whose homeland, Carpathian Rus', is located literally in the heart of Europe." I think that this assertion must be supplemented by the words of Chris Hann, a social anthropologist at Cambridge University in Great Britain, who insists that "on the map this may be the center of Europe, but economically and intellectually it is a backward region." This otherwise minor corrective is very important. It allows for a better understanding of the dimensions and essence of the real issue. Although Rusyns for centuries inhabited the very center of our continent, only to a small extent did they participate in the events which took place there. And when they did participate, it was more as an object rather than an actor in the events. Especially significant was their limited participation in the process of the formation of new national ideologies in the nineteenth century, which became the basis for the building of national independence for many peoples in this part of Europe.

It is most certainly not the author's fault that facts about the size of the Carpatho-Rusyn population are lacking. Only the [1991] census of the population in Czecho-Slovakia has provided some concrete data. But here I would also like to pose the question of the fate of the approximately 50,000 Rusyns resettled after 1945 from the Zemplín and Šaris regions to the Czech Sudetenland [northern Moravia and western Bohemia]. We do not know if they remained in their new settlements or how they identify themselves ethnically. Concrete figures that have to do with similar situations in Poland and Ukraine also continue to elude us.

I would like to take a stand regarding the Polish aspect of the Rusyn question. Recently, published figures of the Organization for Minority Affairs in the Polish Ministry of Culture and Art in Warsaw have not contained specific information about Lemkos. Rather, data on which the administration of that organization depends presents the number of Lemkos together in one group with Ukrainians at somewhere between 300,000 and 350,000. The informants for these figures were representatives of the Ukrainian minority. The figures which they offered are exaggerated, and this is attested by the conclusions of Poland's parliamentary elections in December 1991. The Ukrainians were included together with the Lithuanians, Czechs, and Slovaks in the Minority Electoral Bloc. Yet together the Bloc was barely able to receive 27,000 votes. Still, the most generous estimate of the Ukrainian population in Poland places it at 150,000. In this figure are included Lemkos with a Ukrainian national consciousness. For instance, a Lemko from Gorlice, Vasyľ Šljanta, came in second on the ballot. On the other hand, a certain part of the Lemko population definitely did not vote for candidates of the Minority Electoral Bloc. Lemkos with a Rusyn national consciousness did not even submit their own slate of candidates, and several activists supported candidates from the German minority.

I mention all this in order to focus on the fact that certain specially interested individuals almost double the estimates of the size of minority groups. We must, therefore, approach these numbers with caution. It can be shown, in fact, that there are far fewer Lemkos with Rusyn national consciousness in Poland than Magocsi supposes.

Magocsi also refers to the official prohibition of the use of the term *Rusyn* in Poland after 1945. I would like to correct this impression. An agreement concluded on September 5, 1944, by the Polish Committee for National Liberation

referring to movements of peoples who were to be resettled from Poland to the Soviet Union listed the following groups: Belorusan, Russian, Ukrainian, and **Rusyn**. Local authorities in Poland were at the time quite conscious of the differences between Ukrainians and Lemkos (Rusyns). A further official document issued by the Polish government whose actions affected Lemkos (the decision to inaugurate the Vistula Action [forced evacuation] on April 24, 1947) named two categories of the population—"Ukrainian" and "mixed." There is no doubt that the Lemkos were at that time included with the Ukrainians, but this decision emerged from practical considerations, since there was also an order to evacuate Poles from mixed families. This was an attempt to eliminate completely all potential support for the activity of the [anti-communist] Ukrainian Insurgent Army—UPA. Lemkos, whether they admit it today or not, cooperated with the UPA. And thus the identification of Lemkos with Ukrainians had at that time an exclusively practical basis.

During the second half of the 1950s, the political dynamic in Poland began to change. The new government, led by Władysław Gomułka, who during Hitler's occupation hid among the Lemkos, differed with many past political positions. The Lemkos felt they finally had a chance to improve their situation. But it was then, and only then, that a definitive verdict was reached in their situation. It was provoked by the unfortunate actions of Peter Hardy [during the visit to Poland in 1957 by the Lemko-American activist from Connecticut]. In 1958, the Polish Communist Party specialist on nationality affairs, Aleksandr Ślaw, announced on the pages of the ideological publication of the party, *Nowe Drogi*, that Lemkos are only an ethnographic group of the Ukrainian people. And it could not be otherwise. Persistent pressure on the part of the Lemkos themselves [to be able to return to their Carpathian homeland] was strong at this time and the government's response was initially conciliatory. The Hardy affair, however, seemed because of its treatment in American publications to become too conspicuous. It is possible that it aroused the concern of Moscow. Yet even without the Hardy affair, Warsaw's nationality politics would likely have developed in the same way. At the time it was being influenced by the old leaders of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine. We still do not have any simple answer to the question of how possible it ever was for the Lemkos to obtain official recognition [as a nationality] from the Communist government in Poland in 1956.

At this point, it is necessary to elaborate on one further detail. This does not pertain specifically to Magocsi's report, although it does concern directly the Polish reaction to the identification of Rusyns (Lemkos) as Ukrainians. The view is rather widespread that Polish society supported the repressive steps of the Communist government against national minorities. This is completely untrue. Nationalistic oriented Polish circles protested in various ways the forced resettlement policy. And although this paradoxical situation has faded from memory today, the fact remains that the émigré National Democratic (Endek) publicist, Jędrzej Giertych, wrote the following in 1946: "I take this opportunity to refer to the affair of the mass resettlement of the Rusyn population from the Przemyśl, Sanok, Chełm, and Lemko regions. The recklessness with which this resettlement is being carried out, particularly with regard to the Lemkos among whom an Old Ruthenian and not Ukrainian orientation prevails, is from the Polish point of view a crime. It is especially sad that this resettlement, pursued according to the will of Moscow, is taking place in conditions when any

effective protest on the part of Polish society is impossible." Giertych's position was obviously motivated by his anti-Ukrainian phobia. He was clearly of the opinion that from the Polish point of view it was more advantageous to support the notion of the national distinctness of Rusyns.

With regard to Polish initiatives towards Rusyns, I would stress even more than Magocsi one aspect: dependence on external factors. The political context of the Carpatho-Rusyns was an indisputable fact. By this I do not mean that from the national point of view they began to exist solely as a product of outside forces. It is more likely that because of their economic weakness and underdeveloped culture the political ideologies which arose in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Carpathian Rus' were forced to seek outside supporters. In the interwar period, these supporters were Poland, Hungary, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia. Even the establishment and short existence of the Carpatho-Ukraine [1938-1939] was related to the behind-the-scenes actions of the Galician and émigré-based Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

Turning to the present-day problem, Magocsi also discusses the situation of Rusyns in the new political circumstances which arose after 1989. The fall of the Communist regimes was unquestionably advantageous to Rusyns. Almost immediately there was a resurgence of nationalism in East Central Europe. Without this situation a Rusyn renaissance would have been impossible. Nevertheless this same process will also have unpleasant effects on their position. New states have already arisen and others may still arise. Rusyns no longer live in the Soviet Union or in Yugoslavia. The status of Slovakia has also changed.

These new or renewed states are still building their own systems and are creating their political doctrines. A fear has arisen that several political forces, just as before 1939, could raise the Rusyn question as a subject of international conflict. Magocsi recalls this reality in connection with Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and such discussions have taken place rather extensively in the international, including Polish, press. Less well known is the fact that also in Poland certain political forces have expressed an interest in the "Lemko factor."

Here I am referring in particular to the various segments of society which created the new Polish government after the elections of 1991. It seems that the above-mentioned view of Giertych still has a following. Hence, already in June 1989, the monthly *Głos* (whose chief editor was the former minister of the interior Antoni Maciarczyk), published an article by Ryszard Czarnecki, today a representative of the Christian National Party in the Polish parliament. Czarnecki analyzed the possibilities of the political development of the Polish state, including the question of cooperation with Lemkos and Slovaks. Here he did not hide the fact that he understands cooperation as "widening the sphere of Polish influence," and in that context he believes Lemkos can form "a kind of buffer between Warsaw and Kiev." Somewhat later, in 1990, the [Warsaw weekly] *Tygodnik Solidarność* published a commentary on an article about Rusyns that appeared in the British newspaper, *The Independent*, under the especially provocative title: "They Await Their Hour." Thus, Polish nationalists have great interest in the Rusyns/Lemkos. In that context, events in Slovakia and Ukraine are continuously monitored and discussed.

What, then, emerges from all this? If, as Magocsi states, the Rusyns themselves have not declared any desire to destabilize existing international borders, one can nonetheless

find among Ukraine's neighbors those who might use the Rusyn issue to achieve border changes. In the words of the above-mentioned article by Ryszard Czarnecki, "Let us not be afraid of the phantom of the borders, because borders will not be preserved just because the Poles pretend that they do not have their own interests and aspirations. It is power politics that decides and will decide." Such a view is echoed by the Czech-based Republican party. While it is still possible to state that today these are peripheral views, they are nonetheless disturbing. Ukraine is the other crucial factor in the evolution of such dissension that is occurring before our very eyes. While, as Magocsi suggests, Ukraine's relationship to Rusyns is in accord with the provisions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), any resolution of the Rusyn question beyond the borders of Subcarpathian Rus' is not acceptable. And if the situation in Subcarpathian Rus' begins to develop with concerns beyond its borders—and there are several indications this is happening—nationalist circles in countries surrounding Ukraine will have an easy pretext to act in the role of a protector on behalf of the downtrodden Rusyns.

And finally a few words about that section of Magocsi's report that deals with the status of Lemkos (Rusyns) in Poland. Unquestionably Magocsi is right when he says that the financial situation of Lemko organizations in Poland is bad. But there is nothing special about the fact that Lemkos receive almost no support from the state, since they have not fought energetically for this support. With regard to these matters, in Poland today there is still no official codified procedure to follow. The amount of support a national group receives does not depend on the size of the group. Those who receive the most are quite simply those who know best how to compete. In 1991, the Ukrainians acquired from the government almost 1.5 billion *złoty*s.

The problem, however, is not receiving money. The Lemkos are a group with a high percentage of village inhabitants. This group concerns itself less with ethnic status and more with the basic problems of life. Thus, there is wide support for the efforts to acquire forest lands in the Lemko Region and much activism in the struggle between Orthodox and Greek Catholics concerning churches on one hand and weak participation of ethnic organizations on the other hand. The Lemko Association (Stovaryšnja Lemkiv) is a young organization which still has much to learn about lobbying before the central government for support. A positive step would be for Lemko organizations to become members of the Council of National Minorities created on the initiative of president Lech Wałęsa. In this regard, it is worth noting that the Union of Ukrainians refused to approach the council. The Lemko presence in political circles is especially important now, at a time when the fate of national minorities and their status is being considered in the preparation of a new constitution. The Ukrainian minority has already for a long time been quite active in this regard. The Lemkos, on the other hand, are never present whenever the key decisions which will influence their fate for many years are being made.

In an almost homogeneous national state—and such is Poland—national minorities must strive cleverly for the support of influential social and political forces. In this area, the Lemkos have real possibilities, although they have not always known how to make use of them. Thus, for example, one of the leaders of the Democratic Union, presently the largest political party in Poland, Senator Zofia Kuratowska, has shown a great interest in the Lemko question. Moreover, almost all political parties have written about Lemkos, and various aspects of the Lemko problem have occupied present members of the parliament and government. And while there remains for Lemko leaders only one intelligent option—to use this interest for the benefit of the group—it must be said that they do not always know how to take advantage of the situation. In matters of cultural activity, if we compare the Lemkos with the Kashubes—a group which has a similar ambivalent attitude toward their national consciousness (whether German, Polish, or local)—the Lemkos once again fall short. The Kashubes have been able to compile a dictionary of Kashubian, codify their language, and use it in official situations regardless of the fact that, similarly to Lemko Rusyn, it has not been officially sanctioned by academic linguistic authorities.

One important task still confronts the Lemkos: to convince others of their national distinctness from Ukrainians. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian point of view is continually heard. Therefore, public opinion often considers Lemkos as Ukrainians, regardless of what they feel they are. Writing about this phenomenon, Tadeusz Szafar aptly recalls the well-known epigram of Jean-Paul Sartre about Jews as people whom others consider Jews without regard for what they really are. Are Lemkos destined to have a similar fate? I once wrote the following about Rusyns on the pages of [the New York Polish-language newspaper] *Nowy Dziennik*: "Their national distinctiveness may exist, but today it is still not a phenomenon which could be compared in the same way with the indisputable existence of the Ukrainian, Polish, or Slovak national idea." I must simply reiterate this dictum here.

The Carpatho-Rusyn homeland is behind the times, ecologically endangered, and political unstable. But this is also the fate of the entire post-Communist Eastern and Central Europe. And like the region's other inhabitants, Rusyns also demand something more than prosperity and stability. They demand European standards for the preservation of national minorities. As far as this is concerned, I am in perfect agreement with Magocsi's view. The fate of Rusyns, dependent on as many as three other peoples in this region, will evolve their own specific criteria for their own variant of European-ness. In that sense we must agree with the view that Rusyns, this people of the "heart of Europe," will begin to live a normal life only when Europe becomes a common home for all its peoples.

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(Translated by Patricia A. Krafcik)

A REPLY

I would like to begin by expressing appreciation to the editors of *Slovenský národopis* for their decision to publish my report on the current status of Carpatho-Rusyns and to include commentaries by respected scholars in the countries where Rusyns live. Such an approach is in marked contrast

to the emotion-laden polemics, whether from journalists or academics, that until now have dominated most discussions about the "Rusyn question." Serious issues deserve serious analysis and criticism, and in that regard I thank as well Dr. L'udovít Haraksim, Dr. Mykola Mušynka, and Dr. Andrzej Zięba for taking the time to share their opinions of my report on Carpatho-Rusyns. Again, the editors of *Slovenský*

národopis are to be commended for their decision to extend the debate by allowing me this reply.

It may be useful to begin by explaining why my essay on the current status and future perspectives of the Carpatho-Rusyns was written. It was in response to an invitation by the New York-based Institute for East-West Security Studies to attend their conference on “European Institutions and the Protection of National Minorities in East Central Europe and the Balkans” that was held at the Štířín castle near Prague in October 1991. The Carpatho-Rusyns were chosen as one of the six national minorities to be analyzed. I, like other participants, was asked to describe the current status of Rusyns and how they can be considered as a subject of concern to “international institutions (United Nations, Council of Europe, European Parliament, CSCE) with regard to the protection of national minorities and ethnic groups.” The report presented at Štířín was subsequently revised and delivered one month later in Častá, Slovakia at the Conference on Minorities and Politics, sponsored by the Czechoslovak branch of the European Cultural Foundation. It is the latter, revised version of the essay that appears in this issue of *Slovenský národopis*.

I mention this background to underline the fact that my thoughts on the Rusyn question were formulated as a response to a concrete request for information and suggestions put forth by an American research center. It is this reactive function that reminds me of an initial statement in the commentary of Dr. Haraksim, in which he suggests that “Magocsi unambiguously considers Rusyns as a small people,” or, I assume, a distinct nationality. In actual fact, I am not unambiguous regarding this matter. In a well publicized address that I gave to the First World Congress of Rusyns held in Medzilaborce (March 1991), I said that at present Rusyns *could not* be considered a distinct nationality, although in theory, they *could* develop into one.

Nationalities are, after all, not absolute social categories. At some point in history they came into being and, as we know, some have even disappeared. Or, to put it another way: “Nations and national cultures are artifacts—continually imagined, invented, contested, and transformed by the agencies of individual persons, the state, and global flows of commodities.” Observation of such social phenomena, in the present as well as the past, is precisely the task of the scholar. In the case of Carpatho-Rusyns, it is not I who “unambiguously” state that a Rusyn people exists. It is rather Rusyn spokespersons themselves—whether from Transcarpathia, northeastern Slovakia, the Lemko Region in Poland, or the Vojvodina in Yugoslavia—who proclaim that together they comprise a distinct Rusyn nationality. In short, as a historian I am simply describing what actually exists or is in the process of formation; I am not prescribing what might or what ought to be.

Hence, in response to Dr. Haraksim’s statement that Rusyn “unity is rather illusory,” I would say that while this may be true, it is no more illusory than the idea of a single Slovak or Ukrainian people at the outset of the twentieth century, or a Macedonian people on the eve of World War II. Historians, perhaps more than anyone, should know how “illusions” have a way of becoming realities.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Haraksim for raising the problem of statistics. This is because the statement in my report on this matter should preferably have read: “In theory, the number of Rusyns could be as high as 1.2 million people.” Within this figure there are an estimated 130,000 Rusyns in northeastern Slovakia. This figure is, of course,

only hypothetical; that is, it describes a situation that might be, not what actually is. All we really know is that in the March 1991 census, 16,937 persons in Slovakia responded that they were of *Rusyn* nationality, and that another 13,847 responded *Ukrainian* nationality and 1,624 *Russian* nationality. (I include the category *Russian* as well, since it is likely that most, if not all, such respondents originally came from Rusyn villages.)

But how did I arrive at the estimate of 130,000? The answer is rather simple. There are about 300 villages in northeastern Slovakia that ethnographers and linguists have categorized as being inhabited by East Slavic Rusyns. Moreover, more than 80 percent of the inhabitants in each of those villages responded in the 1900 Hungarian census that Rusyn (*rutén nyelv*) was their mother tongue. If we correlate the 1900 Hungarian census with the total population in each of these villages according to the 1970 Czechoslovak census, there hypothetically could have been 129,398 Rusyns in 1970. Of course, not every single person in the 300 villages claimed Rusyn as their mother tongue even in 1900. On the other hand, we have not taken into account the large number of Rusyns who in the last three decades have emigrated to nearby cities, such as Stará Ľubovňa, Bardejov, Humenné, Prešov, Vranov, and Michalovce. It is also interesting to note that the 129,000 hypothetical figure for 1970 represents 3 percent of the total population in Slovakia, a percentage that coincides with the percentage of Rusyns in Slovakia in 1921 (3 percent) and again in 1930 (2.9 percent). In actual fact, however, not every inhabitant *wanted* to identify him/herself as a Rusyn, even though in 1991—for the first time since World War II—an individual did have a right to declare *and be counted as* a Rusyn. At most, only 25 percent of the potential 130,000 opted for some East Slavic national identity, whether Rusyn, Ukrainian, or Russian.

Aside from the personal reluctance of individuals to identify as Rusyns, the census procedure itself is problematic. It may seem blasphemous for a Slavist like myself to admit, but the pre-1918 Hungarian statistics—even during the height of magyarization—were more reliable than the Czechoslovak statistics which followed. This is because the Hungarian census takers asked a question about mother tongue, not nationality. Such an approach was a much better way to gauge the “national” identity of respondents.

In contrast, the Czechoslovak governments, whether during the first republic or after 1945, asked—or at least published—only a question on nationality. Everyone knows how easy it is for individuals, even educated ones, to confuse national identity with the state in which they reside. Thus, if a respondent were to equate nationality with citizenship and not with ethnolinguistic origin, then in theory everyone in pre-1918 Hungary was Hungarian and everyone in post-1919 Czechoslovakia was Czechoslovak. Statistically, during the first Czechoslovak republic there were *no* Slovaks, since in the published census report there were no rubrics for *Czechs* and *Slovaks*, only one for “Czechoslovaks” (*národnost’: československá*).

It is also curious to note that in the March 1991 Czechoslovak census, separate questions were asked about language and nationality. Thus, in theory—and perhaps in practice—a person could respond *Slovak* for his/her nationality, but *Rusyn* for language or mother tongue. I say perhaps, because while the Czechoslovak Statistical Bureau rushed to publish the preliminary results of the 1991 census already in June of that year, for some reason the bureau did not include the number of responses to the language question. Hopefully,

such information will soon become available, and whether or not it changes the number of Rusyns in Slovakia, a question about mother tongue or language still seems the fairest way to measure the size of minorities who live in multinational states like Czecho-Slovakia. [Recently, the Slovak government did release the 1991 census data on language: 49,099 persons responded their native language is Rusyn; only 9,480 responded Ukrainian.—Editor]

The question of statistics inevitably leads one to the issue of assimilation. Dr. Haraksim seems particularly concerned about my statement that “the most rapid degree of slovakization and national assimilation that Rusyns ever experienced” took place in the 1950s and 1960s. This is simply a statement derived from the only existing statistics we have, in particular comparing the 1921 and 1930 censuses with those of 1950, 1961, and 1970. Nor can the decrease be explained simply because, as Dr. Haraksim writes, of deaths during World War II (for which he gives no figures), of emigration to the Soviet Union (most of whom returned in the 1960s), or of migration to Moravia and Bohemia. Alongside these losses must be calculated natural demographic increases. Dr. Haraksim also argues that this assimilation was “not planned.” I never said it was planned, and stated instead that it was likely forced ukrainianization, collectivization, and liquidation of the Greek Catholic church that contributed most to the process of slovakization. One might add here as well the natural assimilatory process among children of mixed Rusyn-Slovak parentage whose offspring would most likely adopt the state nationality—Slovak—as their own.

But arguing against planned assimilation and slovakization, as Dr. Haraksim and I do, is on both our parts more of an interpretive conclusion than one based on concrete proof. I would hope that now, in the more democratic atmosphere of post-1989 Czecho-Slovakia, scholars will research and publish documents to provide the real background to the June 25, 1952 decision of the Communist party of Slovakia that led to the adoption and implementation of ukrainianization by administrative decree. Only then will our interpretive conclusions be reaffirmed or by necessity altered. As it stands, Dr. Haraksim’s statement that no one “ever forced” national assimilation upon Rusyns after 1945, remains somewhat problematic, unless one considers forbidding the use of a people’s ethnonym (as was the case for Rusyns from 1952 through 1989) not an example of direct state intervention in the question of national self-identity.

In contrast to Dr. Haraksim, whose critical remarks do contribute to a rethinking and refinement of my own views on the subject, there is the commentary by Dr. Mykola Mušynka. His commentary does little to advance our understanding of the Rusyn question beyond the already well-known Ukrainian interpretation as formulated by scholars in the former Soviet Ukraine and by Ukrainianists beyond the borders of Ukraine. Most disturbing, however, is the tendency of Dr. Mušynka to exaggerate, to misread, or even worse, to imply some things other than what I have written.

The first instance of this approach is related to my comments about Rusyn dialects and their relationship to East Slavic and to West Slavic languages. In fairness to Dr. Mušynka, there was a problem in the Slovak translation of my English original; namely, in my statement about West Slavic influences on Rusyn vocabulary, pronounciational stress, and syntax, the English term “much” (*značná časť*) was incorrectly rendered as “the majority of” (*väčšina*). This rather slight unintended mistranslation was transformed by

Dr. Mušynka into a major intellectual *faux pas* that he felt obliged to describe with exaggerated terms like “illogical,” “absurd,” and “unsubstantiated.” We all know—whether from common sense or from what linguists have told us—that Rusyn dialects, especially those in southeastern Poland and northeastern Slovakia, are heavily influenced by Polish and Slovak.

As for misreading or distorting my text, Dr. Mušynka states that I supposedly linked the First World Congress of Rusyns with the census that took place one week later. What I actually said was that the Congress did have a great influence on the 300 or so participants as well as on many other Rusyns in Ukraine, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czecho-Slovakia who read about it in the generally widespread press coverage. We also know that the press reports only occurred *after* the census. No linkage between the two events was either stated or implied by me.

As for an example of outright distortion, Dr. Mušynka refers to an essay of mine, originally entitled in English, “The End of the Nation-State?: The Revolution of 1989 and the Future of Europe,” that was published in Slovak, Hungarian, and Romanian translations. It is certainly true that in that essay I ask the serious question posed by the leaderships in all East Central European countries: how can they, while trying to undertake difficult economic transformations, still afford liberal subsidies to a wide variety of cultural activity, including assistance to the cultural institutions of national minorities? To pose such a rhetorical question was not to suggest that in the best of all worlds support for cultural activity should cease. Rather, it was posed in order to face up to the fact that despite the revolutionary changes of 1989 we still do not live in the best of all worlds, and that minority group activists will have to find other sources of funding. In the future—which is now!—national minorities cannot expect to maintain the same level of activity that they enjoyed during the Communist era. In the short term, minority organizations will have to find ways other than, or along with, government funding to assure that their activity can pay for itself, if not, perhaps, even turn a profit. Some organizations have, in fact, already set out to make themselves fiscally responsible. Ultimately, the status of national minorities will improve when all countries enter the European Community, that is, into a new order in which self-governing regions will be able to determine their own expenditures on cultural, educational, and other activities.

Dr. Mušynka’s argumentation is flawed as well by some rather dubious assertions. Does he really believe that “P.R. Magocsi is the first scholar who has tried to convince Rusyns (as well as the broader public) that they are a distinct people”? What about Híjador Stryps’kyj and Aleksander Bonkáló during the first half of the twentieth century? And if Dr. Mušynka would dismiss these two scholars as unacceptable magyarones, then what about the Rusyn historian, Irynej Kondratovyč, or the Moravian Czech specialist on borderland cultures, Jan Húsek, who wrote in 1936 that “the Carpatho-Rusyns are developing into an independent branch and national unit,” and that after two or three decades Subcarpathian Rus’ “will surely overcome the chaos of the diverse cultural, linguistic, and political orientations and crystallize into an independent distinct nationality—into a Carpatho-Rusyn people.”

In his eagerness to dismiss the Rusyn orientation, Dr. Mušynka states that a distinct “Rusyn” orientation did not exist in northeastern Slovakia until 1989 (!), and that before

then the only orientation that existed (and to which he himself belonged) was the “Great Russian” orientation. Such an assertion contradicts what most of the existing literature says about the interwar period.

Even the Marxist ideologist, Ivan Bajcura (no friend of the Rusyn orientation), concluded that during the interwar period “the Rusyn orientation was in the strongest position in eastern Slovakia.” Such a conclusion was based on concrete evidence. For instance, the influential Greek Catholic bishop of Prešov, Pavel Gojdyč, proclaimed in 1927 at the opening of a folk culture exhibit: “I am neither a Great Russian or a Ukrainian. I am a Rusyn, and wish to live and die as one.” About the same time the popular newspaper published in Prešov, *Russkoe slovo*, pointed out in an editorial statement the distinction between loyalties to Russian and the local Rusyn cultures: “A Subcarpathian Rusyn with a secondary education must more than anyone know the common Russian language.” His “first duty,” however, “is to love and support our local Subcarpathian Rusyn language. . . . Our national local culture, schools, and literature must follow the way of our ancestors, i.e. *po-našem!*”

Finally, Dr. Mušynka argues that the Czecho-Slovak government cannot finance Rusyn schools, a Rusyn radio station, or Rusyn publications because there is no Rusyn literary language. The logic here is that if there were a Rusyn literary language, then such government support should be forthcoming. This allegedly could never occur, however, since as Dr. Mušynka authoritatively claims, all efforts until now to create a Rusyn literary language have failed. Indeed, Dr. Mušynka has dismissed the efforts in this direction undertaken by a retired *gymnasium* teacher, Stepan Bunganyč, and by the editors of the current Rusyn-language weekly newspaper, *Narodný novynký*, and bi-monthly magazine, *Rusyn*, as little more than amateur experiments. But does he also dismiss the first step in codification carried out recently by his own Šafárik University colleague, Dr. Jurij Pan’ko, who has recently published *Normy rusyns’koho pravopysu* (Prešov, 1992)?

It would not be surprising if Dr. Mušynka dismissed Dr. Pan’ko’s efforts as he has dismissed the efforts by anyone who might even suggest that Rusyns might evolve into a distinct nationality with their own literary language. After all, Dr. Mušynka, like other pro-Ukrainian activists, believes in the Marxist “iron-clad laws” of history. Everywhere else in Ukraine, Rusyns developed into Ukrainians; hence, this will—or must—happen in the Carpathian region as well. It makes no difference what Rusyns themselves believe. For Dr. Mušynka and others like him, the term *Rusyn* is considered simply an older form of *Ukrainian*; therefore, the people should be called *Rusyn-Ukrainians*.

This new hyphenated designation, *Rusyn-Ukrainian*, supported so vigorously by Dr. Mušynka since the revolution of 1989, has about as much logic as the terms *Czecho-Slovak*, or *Macedono-Bulgarian*, or *Luxembourger-German*. Did such hyphenated peoples ever exist except in the minds of Czech, Bulgarian, or German xenophobic nationalists? And should not we all be concerned when a writer, like Dr. Mušynka, tells us he knows what people are “really” thinking? How else can one interpret his remarkable statement that “the majority of those people who declared themselves Rusyns [in the 1991 census] subconsciously favor Ukrainian culture.”

No amount of counterargumentation can ever convince true believers like Dr. Mušynka that history, like life, offers many different possibilities. To dismiss the possibility of a Rusyn

nationality as simply the political machinations of misguided enthusiasts or national traitors is not terribly dissimilar from what pre-revolutionary Russian imperialists said (and, if one were to believe Solzhenitzyn, still say) about the idea of a Ukrainian nationality. It, too, was considered a political provocation against “our own” loyal Little Russians.

In the end, to dismiss the legitimate desires of those who wish to be considered as belonging to a distinct Rusyn nationality is to disregard, so to speak, the voice of the people. Whereas in the past that voice could be and was disregarded by the governments and ideologists of “workers” states, it can no longer be dismissed today. If people are convinced and willing to work on behalf of a Rusyn literary language and Rusyn nationality, then it will come into being regardless of what critics like Dr. Mušynka may say.

Perhaps it is because we are of the same generation that the commentary of Andrzej Zięba is based on two basic principle with which I agree. The first of these is that history must be viewed as a dynamic process, which, in the context of the subject at hand, could envision the creation of “new” nationalities. The second is that Rusyns, as Dr. Zięba says, “will begin to live a normal life only when Europe becomes the common home for all of its peoples.” A common European home based on regions, not nation-states, is as I stated above, the best guarantee for the survival of all national minorities. Why? Because in the new Europe, when present-day national boundaries will decline in importance (as those of the European Community will already decline beginning in 1993), there effectively will be no national minorities, only equal nationalities living in various parts of the continent.

To be sure, that stage of political evolution is only now beginning in “western” Europe, and it may take several more decades before it comes to East Central Europe. Meanwhile, there will be an interim period during which the warning of Dr. Zięba about new state structures must be taken seriously. For instance, Rusyns will have to adapt during this interim period as the old nation-states in which they had lived—the Soviet Union, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia—are replaced by smaller nation-states—Ukraine, Slovakia, Serbia. Hopefully, these new states will live up to the standards they agreed to in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and therefore guarantee the rights and protection for the national and cultural minorities living within their respective borders.

If one reads carefully the statements by Rusyn activists, including those in Ukraine’s Transcarpathia who have a political as well as cultural agenda, it becomes clear that they are not calling for unification with a neighboring country (Czecho-Slovakia or Hungary), nor are they calling for the creation of an independent Rusyn state. They know that ultimately neither option would really change their status. What they are calling for is recognition of Rusyns as a nationality equal to all other nationalities in Europe, and for an increase in autonomy or self-government in order that the local population and its elected representatives can decide themselves about their region’s economic, ecological, and cultural fate. This, they argue, can only be achieved in a Europe that “becomes a common home for all its peoples.” Perhaps, to follow on Dr. Zięba’s suggestion, the Rusyn homeland will no longer be the object but subject in the determination of its future. And perhaps the inhabitants living in this geographic center of the continent will no longer be on the periphery but rather in complete step with the rest of the new Europe.

—Paul Robert Magocsi

RECENT EVENTS

New York, New York. On June 23, 1993, the Institute for East-West Studies hosted a discussion group on "The Carpathian Euroregion: Challenges and Opportunities." Following in the footsteps of similar regional initiatives elsewhere in Europe, the foreign ministers of Poland, Ukraine, Slovakia, and Hungary signed in February 1992 a declaration "to establish a Carpathian Euroregion as a framework for the maintenance of lasting cooperative relations among its various participants."

The Carpathian Euroregion Project has since its inception been overseen by the Institute for East-West Studies, an American-European-Japanese non-governmental, non-profit educational and research organization. The underlying assumption of the project is that close, cross-border economic cooperation helps to minimize the potential for political conflict in ethnically, religiously, and historically complex areas.

The purpose of the June 23 round-table discussion was to exchange ideas regarding on-going implementation of the Carpathian Euroregion Project. Participating in the discussion were American businessmen of Carpatho-Rusyn background, academics, and the Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Polish representatives to the United Nations. Rusyn matters received much attention during the discussions. Edward Kasinec, Chief of the Slavic and Baltic Division of the New York Public Library, chaired the meeting. He began by suggesting that "western" organizations and fraternal ethnic communities should cooperate to help rebuild the Carpathian region and to promote trade and tourism. He emphasized that Rusyn religious and fraternal organizations should use their considerable financial and intellectual resources in closer cooperation with mainstream American organizations and with one another in order to better aid their brothers in Europe. Such cooperation would eliminate the present duplication of time and money. Further discussion focused on the obstacles to cooperation created by differing levels of economic development within the Carpathian Euroregion. It was suggested that a development or a merchant bank might be established to facilitate regional trade and development.

The Institute for East-West Studies welcomes inquiries about the Carpathian Euroregion Project. Comments or proposals for establishing cooperative ventures in business, education, or other fields, as well as receipt of the *Carpathian Euroregion Newsletter* may be obtained from: Dr. Vasil Hudak, Director, IEWS European Center, Park Place South, Suite 1001, Atlanta, Georgia 30302.

—Susyn Mihalasky

Corvallis, Oregon. In July and August 1993, five students

from Užhorod visited Corvallis, Oregon which in turn sent five students to Užhorod. The student exchange was part of the sister-city relationship established between the two cities in 1992. Corvallis is located about 75 miles south of Portland in Oregon's Willamette River valley. This fall eleven business interns from Užhorod visited Corvallis to observe food processing and business management, and in February 1994 the American city's Aid to Užhorod Program will send a large shipment of medical aid. Coincidentally, Corvallis is the home of Connie Ash, the youngest daughter of Gregory Zatkovich, the first governor of Subcarpathian Rus' and long-time Rusyn-American activist. Zatkovich's granddaughter, Connie Ash Tully is a teacher-mentor in the Užhorod-Corvallis exchange program.

Budapest, Hungary. On October 18, 1993, the Organization of Rusyns in Hungary held the first public Evening of Rusyn Culture in that country. The program was held in the Kossuth Club, one of the more prestigious cultural settings in Budapest, just opposite the Hungarian National Museum.

The program began with lectures on Rusyn history and their present status by Professor István Udvari (Chair of Ukrainian and Rusyn Philology, Nyíregyháza Pedagogical Institute) and by Professor Tibor Popovics (Economic University, Budapest). The rest of the evening included performances by the leading Rusyn ensembles from neighboring countries: the Greek Catholic Cathedral Choir from Užhorod, Ukraine; the Duchnovyč Theater and PULS folk ensemble from Prešov, Slovakia; and the popular Rusyn singer from Prešov, Anna Servická.

The cultural evening in Budapest was also an occasion that brought together the Interregional Committee of the World Congress of Rusyns for its bi-annual meeting.

Prešov, Slovakia. On November 26-27, 1993, the Aleksander Duchnovyč Society, in cooperation with the Rusyn Club, the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Prešov, the Union of Rusyn-Ukrainians of Slovakia, and the Museum of Ukrainian-Rusyn Culture in Svidník, held a scholarly conference on the life and times of Josyf Gaganec' (1793-1875), the second Greek Catholic bishop of Prešov. Consecrated in 1842, Gaganec' was bishop for over three decades, a period that coincided with the Rusyn national revival and the cultural activity of another Greek Catholic priest, Aleksander Duchnovyč. Twenty scholars, mostly from Slovakia, spoke on various aspects of Gaganec's career as a church leader and pedagogue. Several of the lectures dealt with other topics from his era, including religious painting, cultural organizations, and relations between Rusyns and other Slavic peoples.

SINCE THE REVOLUTION OF 1989

Budapest, Hungary. On July 7, 1993, the Hungarian parliament passed Law LXXVII concerning the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities. Its object is to allow for the expression and preservation of the language, culture, and traditions of all citizens of Hungary who belong to a national or ethnic minority. The law specifically mentions 13 such minorities as well as the amount of funding to be allotted annually to each group. Rusyns are one of the groups and they, like eight others, are each to be allotted 15 million forints annually for cultural activity. The recipient of these funds is expected to

be the Organization of Rusyns in Hungary (Magyarországi Ruszinok Szervezete), based in Budapest.

The new law on national and ethnic minorities reveals the degree to which the present post-Communist government of Hungary has been successful in creating a democratic environment for all citizens living in the country.

Užhorod, Ukraine. On July 11, 1993, thirty-seven delegates representing various organizations formed the National Council for Civic Understanding (Narodna Rada Hromads'koji Zlahody). They met in Užhorod, the ad-

ministrative center of Transcarpathia, to demand the implementation of the December 1, 1991 referendum, whereby 78 percent of the province's inhabitants voted for autonomy. Headed by I. Ju. Kryvs'kyj, a professor of physics and mathematics at Uzhorod State University, the Council for Civic Understanding proposed: (1) that the regional parliament proclaim Transcarpathia to be an autonomous republic within Ukraine; (2) that a constitution for autonomous Transcarpathia be prepared; (3) that an agreement be drawn up between autonomous Transcarpathia and Ukraine setting out their respective jurisdictions; and (4) that a moratorium be placed on the privatization of land and state enterprises until newly-elected organs of an autonomous Transcarpathia are in office.

Mukačevo, Ukraine. On September 29, 1993, the Transcarpathian National Association (Zakarpats'ke Narodne Ob'jednannja) was established. This is a group of 142 civic leaders primarily active in the region's political, business, and intellectual (primarily university professors) affairs whose goals were outlined by V. V. Chymynec', a deputy to the regional parliament (Narodna Rada) and professor at the Institute of Pedagogy in Uzhorod. The association's goals are to implement autonomy for Transcarpathia within Ukraine; to extricate the province from its present economic and social crisis; and to guarantee economic, political, and spiritual freedom for its all inhabitants. These goals are to be carried out exclusively through legal political activity, in particular through support for candidates in local and regional elections. The Transcarpathian National Association derives its moral mandate from the December 1, 1991 referendum, in which 78 percent of Transcarpathia's inhabitants voted for autonomy (self-rule) for their province within Ukraine.

L'viv, Ukraine. On October 8-10, 1993, the First World Congress of the World Federation of Lemkos took place not in the Lemko homeland, but rather in the western Ukrainian city of L'viv. The federation is comprised primarily of Lemko organizations in North America who argue that Lemkos are an integral part of the Ukrainian nationality. Aside from speeches and a cultural program, the congress issued a resolution condemning the 1947 deportation of Lemkos to the western regions of Poland, but not the larger "voluntarily resettlement" of Lemkos to Ukraine in 1945-1946. The resolution also condemned "everyone who considers people from the Lemko Region to be part of an artificial Lemko or Carpatho-Rusyn nation."

YUGOSLAV RUSYN YOUTH FUND

Appreciation is extended to the following individuals or organizations who, as of December 31, 1993, donated generously to the Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund.

Kiril Papuga, Edmonton, Alberta—\$50
Rusin Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota—\$200
Robert Uram, East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania—\$50
Patrick White, Shaker Heights, Ohio—\$100

Further tax-deductible donations of \$50 or more may be sent to:

Yugoslav Rusyn Youth Fund
Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, Inc.
Box 131-B
Orwell, VT 05670

UPCOMING EVENT

Sanok, Poland. The Right Reverend Adam, Bishop of the Southeastern Diocese of the Orthodox Church in Poland, has announced that His Beatitude, Vasilij, Metropolitan of Warsaw and All Poland, with the Holy Synod, is planning "to place into the ranks of the saints," the Carpatho-Rusyn martyred priest, Father Maksym Sandovych, in early September 1994. A pilgrimage will be led by the Very Reverend Daniel D. Ressetar of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, for the canonization ceremony at the newly constructed and recently consecrated Church of the Holy Trinity in Gorlice, Poland. After the canonization ceremony and liturgical services, the pilgrimage will continue with visits to cultural and historical sights in the Lemko Region of southeastern Poland and the Prešov Region of neighboring Slovakia. For further details, contact Father Dan Ressetar, 5501 Locust Lane, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17109. Telephone: (717) 652-1825.

OUR FRONT COVER

Orthodox Christian Church of the Holy Trinity in Gorlice, Poland, consecrated September 8, 1991.

A Forum on Carpatho-Rusyn Heritage

THE CARPATHO-RUSYN AMERICAN

The *Carpatho-Rusyn American* (ISSN 0749-9213) is a quarterly publication of the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center Inc., a non-profit cultural organization whose purpose is to promote knowledge about all aspects of Carpatho-Rusyn culture through the publication and distribution of scholarly and educational material about the Carpatho-Rusyn heritage in Europe and America.

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Annual Subscription is \$12.00

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